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Research Bulletin (Arts)

Volume ~~XIV~~, No. 1

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THE CONCEPT OF TIME IN WORDSWORTH'S *THE PRELUDE**

Devinder Mohan

In the experience of man's self, "the child" and "the oldman" remain spatial yet coexistent metaphors in the growth of organic time of Wordsworth's *The Prelude*. They endure the permanence of their eternity, whether Wordsworth experiences the breath of breeze, or dreams, or watches boys skating, or undergoes University life, or reacts to the French revolution, or finally, experiences the poetic energy of Snowdon. These experiences then become the permanent "spots of time" like the effulgent rocks of mountain. When the boy becomes the retrospective object, the experience becomes its vision any idea while the old man, always at some unreachd "spot of time," beckons the boy for endurance. The old man endures like a hidden genius in the abysses of time ahead. This movement between child and old man is always there, like a movement in stillness of a mountain, like the sounding cataract ever haunting like a passion, like "A Traveller I am,/Whose tale is only himself;" or like permanence in time. David Perkin observes the idea of stillness of permanence of eternity by quoting from Whitehead :

Wordsworth was "haunted", as Whitehead said, "by enormous permanences of nature." More or less ignoring the swift change and transformation that obsessed Shelley, he tended to notice, "rocks immutable, and everflowing streams." To a "mind intoxicate" with "busy dance of things that pass away," nature presents "a temperate show/of objects that endure."¹

Visible Nature is "outward coat" like a tree or a mountain, but a movement in time which passes through their intransitive forms like a seed sprouting or a liquid stone. Karl Kroeber suggests the movement within the dynamics of permanence :

The poem as a whole is static in that Book XIII

*The references of Wordsworth's text have been taken from Jack Stillinger's *Selected Poems and Prefaces : William Wordsworth*, ed. (Boston : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965).

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concludes at a point where Book I begins : yet within that "stasis" is contained the growth to maturity of a poet's mind. The essence of growth, it is worth remembering, is movement, developing in time. To Wordsworth, mind is a moving force, an energy; notion object. To understand a force we must attend to its manifestations, its activity, but our complete understanding must be of the force's inherent, permanent nature, that which will characterize it in all manifestations. *The Prelude*, then, must simultaneously dramatize both the "*stable et mouvant*."²

The nearest metaphor for this poetic form of time, is Dante's spirat mountain, purgatory. It has terraces surrounding it, rising one above the other, connected by stairways in the rock. Dante and Virgil encounter sinners on each of the terraces according to the nature and extent of the sins, praying for atonement. They undergo the spectacle of each group of sinners, like successive states of mind, until they reach the top, qualified to enter the Paradise. In Wordsworth's *Prelude* too, we note the poet entering the sinful experience (descent in time), time and again, which is atoned for by the "spirit of the poetry"^{2a} (to use Hartman's phrase) until it is realized in consummation at the summit of its form with its Paradisal vision. As Dante takes the help of dead poet Virgil to help him endure, so Wordsworth takes the help of Coleridge and Milton. Wordsworth's experiences represent the manifestations of the poetic form which in Dante's case are represented by the sinners. Both progress by virtue of the poetic energy which helps them confront, endure and purify. The Christian myth of Dante and Milton is demystified in terms of the existing state of man (hell) and Nature (heaven) by the mediating power (energy) of poetry. The movement in time in *The Prelude* is the movement in the form of poetic Purgatory, the dramatic movement rising retrospectively (atonement—the ever refining presentness of the past) in the stillness of spatial poetic form. Time, then, is the poetic time (which T. S. Eliot calls "historic sense") in which the present moment filters through the past until it becomes pure like eternity. When Wordsworth reaches this moment in Books XIII and XIV, he no longer needs the forms (their illusions) of the past moments, since he has reached the summit. Retrospecting act stops there but at the summit of the poetic form he is like a shepherd tending his sheep (humanity). Thus the quest for time lies in the quest for eternity; the quest for forms of the poetic energy is the quest for the permanent poetic form. Wyndham

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Lewis' quote from Whitehead illuminates the context :

There is yet a third fact to be placed (beside change and endurance, namely)—*eternality*, I will call it. The mountain endures. But when after ages it has worn away, it has gone. If a replica arises, it is yet a new mountain. *A colour is eternal. It haunts time like a spirit. It comes and goes. But when it comes it is the same colour. It neither survives nor does it live. It appears when it is wanted.* The mountain has time and space a different relation from that which colour has.³

The context of colour in *The Prelude* suggests poetic quality of questing for the eternal. Whitehead's mountain refers to this quality of motion and stillness which T. S. Eliot too refers in his vision of motion and stillness against the historical conditions which haunts the speaker in *The Prelude*. Wordsworth's empirical time is potential in England's past and present, its cities, the landscapes and social climates. The making of poetic form of Wordsworth's England emerges from its organic time, since it exists in the paradox of motion and stillness; it is subjection to historical change through this paradox. The child metaphor in *The Prelude* relates to constant change whereas the metaphor of the old man relates to the haunting spirit of poetic imagination. The former symbolises movement of time, the later, its paradoxical organic stillness. Both form the development of *The Prelude*. "The spots of time" then are not what E. D. Hirsch calls cyclical moments of time :

Wordsworth's emphasis on large cyclical view, his sweeping aside of self-destroying, transitory things, is the aspect of his attitude which earns for him Coleridge's epithet "*Spectator ab extra*."⁴

Wordsworth is never "spectator ab extra." He confronts everything like a child nourished by "beauty and Fear." However, every experience is given poetic form by the metaphorical old man. Every "spot of time" is the stage in the growth of the child, who is no longer the child of the past but he is not yet the old man. Each successive "spot of time" is intenser and maturer in human values than all the preceding ones, exist by virtue of them. Hirsch's view of cyclical time in Wordsworth's poetry arises from his misunderstanding of the latter's sense of time present in relation with time past. In fact there is no relation in separation between them; they exist in contemporarity of

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poetic vision the purgatory mountain of motion and stillness of the historical condition of Wordsworth's England.

Thus the "spots of time" are not cyclical or archetypal moments; they make the underlined context of *The Prelude*. Wordsworth's poem "She was a Phantom of Delight" illustrates this context in miniature :

She was phantom of delight
When first she gleamed upon my sight;
A lovely Apparition, sent
To be moment's ornament; (1-4, p. 192)

The poet's first experience is a "A Lovely Apparition", a form of appearance which gleams upon his sight. She is an ornament, a glittering appearance of just a moment. All the images produce an effect of time present at the innocent child's eye of the poet, the eye which is not of "I am" but of "I think." In the second stanza, the old man metaphor gives an aesthetic distance and now, when the poet sees her "upon the nearer view" she is

A spirit, yet a woman too;
Her household notions light and free
And steps of virgin liberty;
A countenance in which did meet
Sweet records, Promises as sweet.

Since, now, she is a "A Spirit, yet a woman too," the poetic spirit of the old man metaphor enables the child in the poet to see through the "Phantom of delight" the concrete form of woman who is "creature not too bright or good" but contemplation of "sweet records, promises as sweet." This time, the "Spot of time" is not cyclical or archetypal, but a new one, since it presents the new form but, certainly by means of the preceding one. The mediation between the child metaphor and the old man metaphor webs the aesthetic threads of multiple contexts into a new image and subsequently its poetic form. In the third stanza, the old man and the child are merged, and the seeing eye (the child) becomes the spirit (the old man); the woman of the second stanza becomes a perfection, an "angelic light." She is the delight of Poet's vision :

And now I see with eye serene
The very pulse of machine;
A being breathing thoughtful breath
A traveller between life and death : (22-26, p. 192)

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The poet realizes that he has been a traveller between appearances and the vision, between life and death and, finally, between the temporal time of the world and its "eternality", its poetic form. *The Prelude* explores the dimension of "eternality" of organic form of the contextual movements of Wordsworth's almost autobiographical events. The traveller metaphor acts as the mediating force between the metaphors of child and old man. The child acts and creates, the old man receives and the traveller envisions. All three of them work in cooperation. As Wordsworth says in Book II :

That through the growing faculties of sense
Both like an agent of the one great mind
Create, creater and receiver both,
Working but in alliance with the works
which it beholds—such verily is the first
poetic spirit of our human life, (II, 22, 6-26).

The faculties of the sense are the faculties of the child who is an agent of the great mind (the old man) which receives the whole of the forms the child creates.

In Book I of *The Prelude*, the poet invokes the spirit of poetry in the gentle breeze. The bardic old man is embodied in the "blessing in this gentle breeze." The Muse of Milton's epic poem is Urania Wordsworth's poem demythogies the muse and calls Her the spirit of Nature. "The earth is all before me" (I, 14), Wordsworth says. As soon as the bardic spirit of poetry is invoked, the child metaphor becomes active. All is appearances of nature : the green fields, the azure sky, a clear stream and a wandering cloud. They enable the poet to breathe again out from under "that burthen of my natural self/the heavy weight of many a weary day." The bardic spirit of nature gives the speaker a child-like liberty which enables him to "travel" from the world abroad to the world within. The child offers the experience to the bardic spirit within, wherein the speaker feels

A correspondent breeze, that gently moved
With quickening virtue, but now become
A tempest, a redundant energy
Vexing its own creation.....(I, 35-38).

The mediation between the bardic spirit of poetry and the physical impact of nature is actively initiated in the first book. In this medi-

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ation, the creative energy begins manifesting itself in the organic progression of all experience, as it vexes itself in seeking form. The poet is now a

. . . . a babe in arms
Make ceaseless music that composed my thoughts
To more than infant softness, giving me
Amid the fretful dwellings of making
A foretaste, a dim secret, of the calm
That Nature breathes among the hills and grooves.
(2, 276-281)

The foretaste of Nature's healing power transforms the "fretful dwellings of mankind" to an awareness of what Harman calls "the generosity in man". As he points out :

To be of the world and not only in it, the individual is forced to create his own bonds to forget himself to nature. Here the principle of generosity begins to operate in memorable time; a soul that does some-how go out to nature to receive an eternal recompense. Its might is fertilized by that of an external world. In its celestial soil (to use Wordsworth's metaphor) nature sows and plants images "for importality."⁵

The cross fertilization of the world "abroad" in Nature and the world "within" man brings about the generosity of the bardic spirit which is potential both in man and nature. Once this fertilization takes place, the bardic spirit speaks in the child to his awareness of the generosity in man and Nature :

Fair need-time had my soul, and I grew up
Fostered alike by beauty and fear; (I, 301-302).

This child, guided by the bardic spirit (old man) potential in Nature, is set as a traveller between birth and death, between innocence and experience, and finally between the body of the world and the poetic vision. In this journey, his growing awareness of fear and his courage to understand the dark experiences confronted in Nature continues to be the projections of man's mind :

Dust as we are, the immortal spirit grows
Like harmony in music; there is a dark

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Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles
Discordant elements, makes them cling together
In one society (I, 340-341).

But the fears at this stage are the fears of physical sense, the fears of growing shapes :

. . . . I struck and struck again
And growing still in stature the grim shape
For so it seemed, with purpose of its own
And measured motion like a living thing,
Strode after me. . . . (I, 380-385).

Yet, the senses also become the forms of pleasure and beauty :

. . . . All shod with steel,
We hissed along the polished ice in games
Confederate, imitative of chase
And woodland pleasures,—the resounding horn,
The pack loud chiming, and the haunted hare.
(I, 432-437).

Thus all the physical forms of nature become the poet's "extrinsic passion," and they become "fastened to the affections." Nature offers its world to the poet. The poet lets himself go, growing through the beauty and fear of the organic time pulsing simultaneously through nature and man.

In Book II, the child in the poet discovers another being like a tranquillizing spirit who helps him to mould his experience into forms more interfused :

. . . . so wide appears
The vacancy between me and those days
Which yet have such self presence in my mind
That musing in them, often do I seem
Two consciousness, conscious of myself
And some other being . . . (II, 28-33).

The other being is a "dear Presence" in which "their exists/A virtue which irradiates and exalts/Objects through widest intercourse of sense." The other being is obviously the bardic spirit of the old man ever moulding the child's activity. Together, they give rise to two conscious-

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nesses, since the child's consciousness discovers a "faith that fails not" in the Presence of nature.

. . . . O Nature ! Thou has fed
My lofty speculations; and in thee,
For this uneasy heart of ours, I find
A never-failing principle of joy
And purest passion. (II, 447-451).

This never failing principle of joy bestows the creative eye to the child. The child, now, both suffers and creates, since he is guided by the consciousness of the deep presence of Nature.

In Book III, the child is disrupted from the presence of nature and plunges into the "motley spectacle" of the busy world. The poet descends from organic time to the temporal world of Cambridge life. Here, he watches students, professors, Trinity's loquacious clock, disturbed by the thoughts about the "future wordly maintenance." "With trembling withal and commendable fears," once again, he ascends to his only faith, the faith that Nature had bestowed in him :

I looked for universal things; perused
The common countenance of earth and sky;
Earth, now unembellished by some trace
Of that first Paradise whence man was driven,
And sky, whose beauty and bounty are expressed
By the proud name she bears — the name of Heaven
I called on both to teach me what they might;
(III, 109-115)

In looking for universal things in Nature, the poet explores his past experience of Nature (Book I). This is the first "spot of time" he experiences. As in the poem, "She Was A Phantom of Delight," the apparition becomes a "countenance in which did meet/sweet records, promises as sweet," likewise in *The Prelude* Nature in the third book is no longer the experience of senses, but a permeating unity ("I looked for universal things") in which every thing is part of the whole. This experience of Nature comes from the fusion of time past and time present. Time present offers the spectacle of Cambridge with all its learning. Newton's prism gives an idea of unity. The dead poets of Cambridge (Chaucer, Spencer and Milton) offer him a fabric of organic time to which he too will be joined. The organic time is experienced in

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every moment gained with a retrospective exploration of the present (or atonement for the proportionate lack of vision). In the ascending movement of "sports of time," the bardic spirit of poetry now has been given a concrete metaphor, the poet Coleridge. It does not mean that Coleridge is an old man, but his poetic achievement has already attained for Wordsworth, a fusion of the subject and the object, a poetic fusion of the child of experiences and the old man of poetic endowment. In Coleridge, then, the spirit of past poets had already merged. For Wordsworth, Coleridge is a living poet in whom time past and time present have been mediated in a prismatic unity. Coleridge stands before him like a poetic form to be achieved. Every time he gains a "spot of time" he addresses Coleridge with reverent affection. In Book III he says, "And here, O Friend ! have I retraced my life/Up to eminence . . ." It is to him that he makes confession of the fall in the past experiences :

. . . . Empty thoughts !
 I am shamed of them : and the great Bard
 And thou, O Friend ! who in their ample mind
 Have placed me high above my deserts,
 You will forgive the weakness of that hour,
 In some of its unworthy vanities
 Brother to many more. (III, 318-324).

In *The Iliad* when Achilles is not on the stage, his presence is always felt. Likewise, Coleridge's presence as a Bard and Nature's presence as unity of Being, are always felt even when they are not addressed. In fact, the growing vertical form (Purgatory mountain) of poetry is taking place in Coleridge; Wordsworth looks upto throughout *The Prelude* until at the abode in the fourteenth book the presence of Coleridge as a metaphor poetic perfection continues. In experiencing Coleridge as a poetic form, Wordsworth is a traveller "whose tale is only of himself."

In Book IV the retrospective ascent continues. As in "Tintern Abbey," the past experience is realized in the present moment in which the poet wants both the harmony Nature and his capacity for human consciousness at the fullest interplay. It captures the simultaneous experience of Nature and human consciousness. There is a need, as it were, to go beyond Nature, but with it, there is a guiding spirit of harmony with an encouragement reflected in its generosity. Man's generosity is required so long as Nature's harmony

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is needed by him. However, beyond that point, Wordsworth needs the consciousness of a fall in time (separation from Nature) to be compensated by the power of poetry. The need of Coleridge's spirit of poetry is loftier and higher than that of Nature. However, Book IV is at that moment of ascent where the fall in time (separation from nature) is atoned for :

... Yet in spite
Of pleasure won, and knowledge not withheld
There was an inner falling—I loved,
Loved deeply all that has been loved before,
More deeply even than ever; but a swarm
Of heady schemes jostled with each other, gawds,
And feast and dance, and public revelary.

(IV, 276-282)

This fall in time is compensated for by the poetic spirit of solitude while in the harmony of nature :

When Folly from the frown of fleeting time
Shrunk, and the mind experienced in herself
Conformity as busy as that of old
To the end and written spirit of God's works
Whether held forth in Nature or in Man,
Through pregnant vision, separate or conjoined.

(IV, 348-353)

The same pregnant vision of Nature works in the blessed mood of solitude in "Tintern Abbey" :

... That blessed mood
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
In lightened :—that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,—
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul :
While with an eye made quite by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy
We see into life of things.

(36-49)

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Dorothy serves the same purpose in "Tintern Abbey" which Coleridge serves in *The Prelude* : the presence in which time past and time future merge with time present.

In Book V, the child metaphor awakes in the image of poetic imagination which man attains in the reading of fairy tales.

Young as I was, a child not nine years old,
 Possessed me, for my inner eye had seen
 Such sights before, among the shining streams
 Of fairy lands, the forest of Romance.

(V, 452-456)

But this metaphor is linked with that of the old man in Wordsworth's dream. The dream is a clear image of a "sport of time" in which innocence and experience, abstract and concrete reason and imagination, are seen working together. Unaided reason or innocence cannot exist; they, however, form the fixities and symbols which need to be explored in association and imagination. They are worked with what Coleridge calls the conscious will of the "secondary imagination" which selects, modifies and purifies the object. In the dream, Wordsworth sees an Arab carrying in one hand a stone while in the other, a shell. The Arab tells him that the stone is "Euclid's Elements" and is "something of more worth." In the dream, Wordsworth is quite active in following the Arab. His activity suggests the metaphorical child, whereas the Arab is the poetic spirit of the old man who is anxious to reveal the secret of poetry. The stone suggests the reason, the shell the imagination. In the poetic ascent of organic time both reason and imagination are necessary. However, Wordsworth has already demonstrated the function of both of these in Books III and IV in showing the harmony of Nature working in cooperation with the consciousness of man of the historic past in the present. The dream suggests a concrete metaphor of the process of the ascent of time towards the completion of the poetic form of *The Prelude*. W. H. Auden interprets the dream rather insightfully.

The stone and shell are alike in that both signify purity. They are also opposites. The stone is valuable because it stands for *freedom from disorder and passion*. The shell is valuable because it *stands for life(—)giving force*. Incidentally, also, the

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stone stands for the Divinity, Unity, the shell for the Divine Multiplicity. (*Italics mine*)⁶

Reason is free from disorder and passion, whereas imagination is a life-giving force of poetry. For Blake, and equally for Wordsworth, the "human form divine", or precisely Man, is not complete without the act of imagination. He lives, whether he is a poet or not, by virtue of imagination. Imagination to Blake is life force of Man. But Wordsworth's dream suggests what is suggested by the presence of Coleridge, that reason and imagination are opposite, discordant qualities; they are mediated by the poetic ascent of time, the fearful running of the Arab through beauty for fear representing that act. Wyndham Lewis' concept of spatialization and concreteness in terms of time brings out a larger and intense context :

What we call "dead" nature, or matter, is according to *abstract* doctrine, the work of intellect. The intellect is responsible for all "deadness". But the external world is not really "dead" (it goes on to tell us), but alive—quite as alive as, if not rather more so than, the "mind." Behind the facade, or beneath the inanimate carapace, is an *organic* existence, or perhaps the shell of ours. At all events, the real every day world is nothing but shell, or a kind of nothing.⁷

In the context of dream, the deadness of stone is abstract like reason, whereas the shell represents Wordsworth's public movement, since it lies in the farther hand of the running Arab beckoning the dreamer to the life giving force. Book V, then, presents concrete images of spots of imagination in the ascent of time, each of them organic through the historic past.

In Book VI, the spots of imagination take intensive leaps in showing the critical transition between the childhood and manhood. The growth of the child towards the old man reaches a certain mellowing in reading the books. The passage of time is recognized with the "eternity" of Coleridge's presence :

But thou art with us, with us in the past
The present, with us in times to come. (VI, 242-243)

Nature keeps an equal pace in his consciousness :

And Earth did change her images and forms

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Before us, fast as clouds are changed in heaven (VI, 492-493).

Along with the growth of the child and the forms of nature, his poetic ascent becomes more subtle and imaginative.

Imagination—here the Bower so called
Through incompetence of human speech
That Lawful Power rose from the mind's abbyes
Like an unfathered vapour that enwraps,
At once, some lonely traveller I was lost;
Halted without an effort to break through;
But to my conscious soul I now can say—
"I recognize the glory." (VI, 592-599)

The actual crossing of Alps suggest an act of imagination which the speaker realizes in his ascent of time.

In Book VII the child is again separated from the bardic spirit of Nature. There, the speaker experiences another fall. As indicated earlier, the speaker confronts his fall when the child is involved with linear until imagination and Nature come to harmony. The process of fall is a long stretched out scene of humanity in which the poet participates to identify with the historical conclusion in order to lead humanity further like a shepherd tending his sheep. He must fall with humanity in order to lead and restore tranquilising power potential in it. At this point, the consciousness of the fall works for humanity, the speaker being a part of it. The power of experiencing the fall is independent of nature, and is indeed more than it, since his bardic consciousness so long attained, enables him to subdue the misery of the "monstrous ant-hill on the plain of too busy a world" into "the still sad music of humanity." The commercial scene of London life becomes the universal condition of humanity. In the "thickening hubbub" of London, innocence (the Maid of Buttermere) is drowned and "blood timmed tide is loosed." It is a scene of suffering mothers, children and old man (and beggars). It is a "blank confusion, true epitome of what the mighty city is herself." "The waste land" of London's civilization suggests to Wordsworth that there is a lack of love and faith in human relationships. The faith that exists in Nature is, however, potential in human consciousness, but the sterility of the churches and temples, and Bachelors and dames, idlers and nurses, in short of the commercial life of London,

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has destroyed its roots. The people and the world are merely a heap of illusions.

But in Book VIII Wordsworth comes to realize that faith and love which he has experienced in Nature, exists in social relationships. The historic past once again restores the humanizing power to the present experience of sterile human life.

With deep devotion, Nature, did I feel,
In that anormous City's turbulent world
Of men and things, what benefit I owned
To thee, and those domains of rural peace,
Where to the sense of beauty first my heart
Was opened; (VIII, 70-76),

When the self is separated from Nature, the independence human consciousness rouses the bonds of missing connections. "The poet's later strength has its origin in experiences that intimate (negatively) death of nature and (positively) a faculty whose power is independent of nature."⁸

The faith is restored by the human consciousness, as soon it gains mutual generosity of man and nature. The strength of this consciousness carries through the fallen state of man in Books VII through IX to XI, depicting the experience in France.

The books concerning France describe at a stretch a complete descent in linear time. The intoxication with power, position and war reigns supreme. Miltonic Hell is demystified in the concrete demonic activities of men.

. Tyrants, strong before
In wicked pleas, were strong as demons now;
And thus, on every side beset with foes,
The goaded land waxed mad; the crimes of few
Spread into madness of many
From hell came sanctified like airs from heaven. (X, 333-338)

Towards the end of Book XI, the speaker begins to make an ascent through the phenomenal activity of human love which he had already learned even in the absence of Nature's harmony, but only having experienced it.

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..... Nature's self
 By all varieties of human love
 Assisted, led me back through the opening day
 To those sweet counsels between head and heart
 Whence grew that genuine knowledge, fraught with peace,
 Which, through the later sinkings of the cause,
 Had upheld me and upholds me now
 In the catastrophe . . . (XI, 350-357).

Along with the recognition of human love and Nature's self, he acknowledges the poetic presence of Coleridge. As he begins to ascend the narrowing path towards the summit of the poetic form or toward the "eternality" of time, he identifies himself with the dead poets who also reached there through the ascent of their art :

..... O Friend ! wilt be refreshed. There is
 One great society alone on earth :
 The noble Living and the noble Dead.

This one great society is, evidently, the society of Man (the poet—the bard) which is immortal. In order to join this society one needs to ascend the purgatory mountain of art (poetry) which Wordsworth has been able to reach with the aesthetic presence of Coleridge and other dead poets. Dante reached this summit with the constant guidance of the dead poet Vergil, whereas Wordsworth reaches there with the guidance of Coliridge and the tranquilising harmony of Nature. Both Wordsworth and Dante achieve the tranquilizing harmony of Nature. Both Wordsworth and Dante are men who suffer, and poets who create. The poet in them is their respective guiding spirit of poetry. Having reached the summit of the mountain, with the guiding spirit of poetry, Wordsworth is fit to enter Paradise. In the recognition of this achievement he addresses Coleridge with the delight of discovery :

Our prayers have been accepted; thou wilt stand
 On Etna's summit, above earth and sea,
 Triumphant, winning from the invaded heavens
 Thoughts without bound, magnificent designs
 Worthy of poets who attuned their harps
 In wood of echoing cave . . . (XI, 453-458).

In Book XII; Wordsworth is a qualified shepherd who can tend

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his sheep yet live himself in "organized innocence," the innocence which is not any longer the child's but the old man's whose bardic spirit has discovered the "human form divine" for the poet. The stone and shell held by the Arab have now melted into the cosmic vision of the world. Past is no longer past, but infinite present in which "spots of time" are no longer distinguishable. Yet having experienced them, he remembers their significance in the life of humanity which he still confronts :

There are in our existence spots of time
That with distinct pre-eminence retain
A renovating virtue, whence depressed
By false opinion and contentious thought
Are nourished and invisibly repaired : (XII, 208-215).

In Book XIII, the vision of paradise is confirmed in rejoicing in it. The world "abroad" and the world "within" are the world of Nature and the world of human society which are completely harmonized by a single "tone,/An image, and a character, by books/Not hitherto reflected." This vision, now, he is able to transmit to others; like a ferryman he can take his crew on the immortal bank of human love where there is a

A balance, an ennobling interchange
Of action from without and from within :
The excellence, pure function, and best power
Both of object seen, and eye that sees. (XIII, 315-379).

Book XIV presents a concrete image of his realization. The child finally plunges into the divine activity of the old man. Now he is actually the father of the man. In the Immortality Ode, the vision lost in the beginning is restored towards the end. Nature is no longer the raw material of divinity but the harmonizing power of poetry. In *The Prelude* when the ascent is completed, the actual climbing of the mountain in Snowden pictures the process which the poet has undergone. Initially, there is mist which gradually clears for the travellers. They experience this small adventure in terms of the universal dimension of the poetic ascent. The senses contribute to the tangible vision of poetic endowment.

. And lo ! as I looked up
The Moon hung naked in firmament
Of azure without cloud, and at my feet
- Rested silent sea of hoary mist. (XIV, 39-42).

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Where there is vast expanse of light, the mist has no place. It goes under the feet. The whole sensory scene states the process of imagination, and how the poetic ascent is reached in the infinite sense of the present moment. Time becomes an organic form from the light above to the mist below. Helen Darbishire points out in this context :

First, there is a mysterious link with infinity, imaged in the chasm that divides the misty, the fixed, abysmal breathing place from which arises the roar of streams as one voice, heard over earth and sea, reaching the starry heaven. The imaginative mind is one that "feeds upon infinity" and "brooks over the dark abyss"—the mystical element again. Then there is the creative power by which imagination transforms objects ("communicating its creative energies to the images of the external world"). And effect of this is not elaboration and variety but the exaltation of drawing into an intense significance of simple and ordinary. Imaginative minds "build up greatest things from least suggestions." And thirdly, they are not caught and kept in the world of senses *but use the senses as gateway for the soul*⁹ (Italics mine)

Although Helen Darbishire is right in pointing out that there is a link between the fixed roaring sound, and infinity, she is not clear about the imaginative context of the moon. That the senses act as the gateway of the soul is exactly the reason that the moon suggests the paradisaical vision of imagination after the poetic ascent has reached the summit of the poetic form of organic time in *The Prelude*. Harold Bloom seems to be right in pointing out partly :

The moon, governing all that is mutable beneath it, feeds upon infinity of the larger vision to gain an intimation of what is beyond mutability. The moon is like the poet's aroused consciousness, looking up to the indestructible heavens and down at the sea of mist which intimates both the impermanence of the world as we know it (the hint that it will be flooded again) and its final endurance, after the judgment of waters.¹⁰

The interaction between the mutability and the infinity is understood in recognizing the senses as a gateway to the vision of imagination. But the context of mythical waters is unaccountable in the poem, since the Miltonic myth is demystified throughout its reading. The sight of the most is filtered through the sound of waters. The sound of waters

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is overcome by the feeling of silence and the sight of the moon. The moon then represents, as Blooms points out, the poet's consciousness of the height of imagination. It is analogous, however, to Dante's *Paradise*. The inter-action of the senses implies the aesthetics of the poetic metaphor of Snowdon, but its effect is spiritual vision centered and withdrawn like the moon in the interacting chain of other senses. As Havens points out :

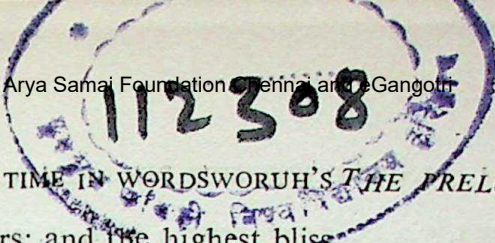
Nature valued for what she does rather than for what she is, and is valued the more in proportion as she is felt rather than seen, an aesthetic appeal is subordinated to imaginative and spiritual ministry.¹¹

Havens' implication of "felt" senses seems to be the function of time to relieve the past, the senses known as they are as confronted in Books I and II, reflected through the senses as gateway to the spiritual chain of being, from the mist under the feet through the roaring waters to the stillness (and not fixity of) of the moon. That is how the image of Snowdon becomes the aesthetic metaphor of paradisaal vision after Wordsworth has endured through the organic spots of time (inner ascent of time through the outer descent of linear time). The final spot of time is imaged by the experience of Snowdon. It is the presence of all succeeding spots of time, each reflected through the preceding past one, so that the final moment is still in the state of stillness like that of moon. This still point is in time yet outside it, a point at the peak where ascent is no longer required. As T. S. Eliot states in *Four Quartets* :

At the still point of the turning World. Neither flesh nor
fleshless
Neither from nor towards; at the still point, there the dance is,
But Neither arrest nor movement. And do not call it fixity,
Where past and future are gathered, movement from nor toward
Neither ascent nor decline¹²

To Wordsworth this still point, this final spot of time, is the abode of Deity which poets reach as power, as a consciousness which draws from the source of Deity's consciousness :

And with the generations of mankind
Spread over time, past, present, and to come
Age after age, till Time shall be no more.
Such minds are truly from Deity,

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For they are powers; and the highest bliss
That flesh can know is theirs—the consciousness
Of whom they are, (XIV, 109-115).

Coleridge and Dorothy have been the harbingers of Deity's consciousness, who inspired the bardic spirit of poetry potent in the metaphorical old man, since, for Wordsworth's mind, child and old man, as already indicated, where the coexistent forces merged in the presence of Coleridge to lead through the ascent of time by creating an independent mind out of Nature's harmony. Almost analogously, Dante's Beatrice led him on through the *Inferno* and *The Purgatorio* until she meets him in *The Paradise*. It is her love that helped him endure all the ordeals. Wordsworth's Deity is incarnated in Nature, Coleridge and Dorothy who helped him redeem his self through all the descents in time wherein the world is be deviled by the demonic senses.

The concept of Wordsworth's organic time is, then, the organic time represented by the ascent of his inner consciousness. "The spot of time" as Lindenberger puts it, is "a distancing device, a way of portraying emotion by reflecting experiences far distant from the present."¹³ By means of reflection on past experience, the present spot of time is impregnated with all the past experience as the final moment of Snowdon is impregnated. The ascent through such reflecting activities progresses like the terraces of a Purgatory mountain towards its peak (the paradoxical still motion point) from where one can enter the heavenly vision. Wordsworth's *The Prelude* thus refers to transformation of man into the poet-hero encountering the historical condition making every experience concrete while confronting city, society and nature.

FOOTNOTES

1. David Perkins, *The Quest for Permanence* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 33.
2. Karl Kroeber, *The Artifice of Reality* (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p. 23.
3. Wyndham Lawis, *Time and Western Man* (London : Chatto and Windus, 1927) p. 176.
4. E. D. Hirsch, *Wordsworth and Schelling* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960), p. 74.
5. Geoffrey Hartman, *Wordsworth's Poetry 1787-1816* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1971), p. 219.
6. W. H. Auden, *The Enchafed Flood* (New York : Random House, 1950).

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7. Wyndham Lewis, *Time and Western Man*, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
8. Geoffrey H. Hartman, *Wordsworth's Poetry 1787-1816*, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
9. Helen Darbishire, *The Poet Wordsworth*, (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 118.
10. Herold Bloom, *The Visionary Company* (New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1963), p. 173.
11. Raymond Havens, *The Mind of A Poet : A Study of Wordsworth's Thought* (Baltimore : The John Hopkins Press, 1941), Vol. 1, p. 101.
12. T. S. Eliot, *The Complete Poems and Plays 1909-1950*, (New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962), p. 113.
13. Herbert Lindenberger, *On Wordsworth's Prelude* (Princeton : New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 167.

SENSE OF AN ENDING : EVELYN WAUGH'S *DECLINE AND FALL*

Shelley Walia

For Evelyn Waugh the dream of a new and more humane society had soured long ago. He had lost his faith in absolutes and shared with his contemporaries, Edward Upward, Rex Warner, Graham Greene, Christopher Isherwood and George Orwell "a profound need for something they felt had been lost from the world, something which would have to be replaced - belief."¹

Waugh's heroes, like Upward's and Warner's endeavour to move from dissatisfaction with society and a desire for faith towards commitment to a single belief. For Waugh, religious belief lent not only purpose and reason to action, but provided a sense of standards and tradition as well, which would reverse the trend towards chaos. Viewing revolutionary socialism as a threat to individuality and culture, Waugh strongly affirms the authenticity of human existence in a significant world.

Edward Upward and Rex Warner found their answers in Marxism, whereas Greene and Waugh could only be content with Christian religion. But in his early fiction Waugh remained an ambivalent believer and constantly examined the relationship between the individual and his society. In his heroes' search for individuality, he explored his own desire to belong to, and to be apart from, the masses.

This paradox is demonstrated by Jeffrey Heath in *The Picturesque Prison : Evelyn Waugh and His Writing*. In his view, Waugh recognized the "freedom" from restraint, characteristic of twentieth-century existence, as an imprisoning force, just as he marked the conservative boundaries of life within the Tory Party, and the Vatican. Heath traces Waugh's decline and fall as man and writer to his disillusionment with the contemporary laxity in the traditional bastions of discipline : the public school, the military, the Anglican Church, the Tory politicians and the artistic discipline. And gradually, over the

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years, Waugh's sense of desertion became so absolute that he could wish nothing better than the confinement of death, which to him meant ultimate freedom.

In the light of his statement, we can see Waugh evolving from a vibrant satirist into a writer totally averse to a world in which his emotional and intellectual demands could seldom, if ever, be satisfied. That is why he is always ill at ease, flirting with ideas. If the novels hang together it is because of the force of the author's style, which yokes together memory and desire, sex and politics, cold ideas and warm feelings. Nightmare and reality often coexist in his first four novels: *Decline and Fall*, *Vile Bodies*, *Black Mischief* and *A Handful of Dust*. And reality is always less perfect, in both the positive and the negative sense.

Waugh, in fact, uses the novel to purge his own anger, to give vent to his feelings against his confreres, and to relieve his imagination of all the ideological burden that might otherwise encumber it. Bottling up his anger, he stabs at the upper-middle class and the aristocracy with the weapons of satire and humour, blending sympathy and pity with irony, a form of criticism that gently mocks not only others but the mocker himself. He used man's less agreeable physical functions to symbolize moral shortcomings, the licensed method of satire in all ages. Disappointed ambition may have chastened the sheer brilliance of his cutting wit. That he did not see himself as righteous and the rest of mankind as vile is evident as much in his own fiction as in Pope's literary works. Like Smollett, Waugh's heroes move through loosely connected episodic incidents. His creations are in their own right, having an individuality expressed often by brilliant caricature. But unlike Smollett, he has Richardson's awareness of tragic predicament and Fielding's sense of human comedy. And like Dickens, he makes haunting, imaginative use of peculiarities and idiosyncracies of human behaviour, especially to highlight class distinctions and consciousness.

The portrayal of eccentricity from *Decline and Fall* to *Sword of Honour* is in keeping with his aim of ridiculing the laxity of the British upper-middle class and aristocracy after the First World War. This is by no means a new idea about the writers of the period; besides labelling the Thirties as a political decade, critics such as Julian Symonds and Samuel Hynes have invariably spoken of the guilt felt by that

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generation over its nonparticipation in the Great War and the subsequent dismissal of the Victorian ethics of their elders.

This is of paramount interest to Waugh; the retreat from world issues to the individual's position in a class is the cause of man's moral and economic dilemma. All these features of the contemporary British novel appear to be pointing to that one basic motivation of each class : gain of power. Truth is always a matter of power and position, a function of social relationship. But what is the value of such a truth which merely delivers one over to oppression and so perpetuates a pervasive falsity ? Terry Eagleton feels that the novel turns upon such fundamental questions as :

... can one falsehood be countered only by another more fruitful falsehood, which in shifting the balance of power in one's favour may bring a deeper demystification to birth ? Can those who are stripped of power from the outset, excluded by the rules of discourse from full subjecthood, enter the power game at all without being instantly falsified ? And is it any less mis-interpretable to stay silent ?²

A socio-literary analysis of Waugh's fiction would involve finding answers to such questions. Through Waugh's fiction one can see the consequences of his class outlook on the form and content of his novels and on the peculiar blend of satire and comedy that is generated. Waugh's novels parody the hollow posturings of a social class whose structure appears fragile. They are the "pillorying of an unauthentic, petty society."³ Apart from examining his novels as satires on the foibles of upper-class society, Waugh's treatment of the human condition also needs to be taken into account.

Despite their flamboyance and seeming levity, Waugh's early novels have a serious theme : the dissatisfaction of the new post-war class of the young with inherited standards. He sees a genuine malaise not only in the wealthy but down the social ladder, as he shows in *Vile Bodies* where a couple of women discuss the generational discontent that pervades contemporary society. A sense of disappointment and futility surrounds the early novels in which he is at the top of his offensive, infuriating, intolerable and utterly hilarious form.

Focussing on people in action, Waugh makes a distinction between

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social interactions and their significance in bringing out class consciousness, which provides a basis for the study of changing action patterns and cultural transformation. But there are also relatively unchanging features of societies in which many recurrent series of events, like rhythmic cycles, take place in order to maintain the existing social system. The weekly or daily social gathering of the Bright Young People or the Older Generation of the disoriented fish, is a type of a ritual which defines social and cultural systems. Another recurrent socio-cultural feature is the rise and decline of "civilisations". Human societies, therefore, become more heterogeneous and differentiated as they adapt to different environments.

II

In contemporary British fiction and particularly in Waugh's early farces, a cynical view of life predominates. Personal tragedies and issues of social significance become simple fodder for society's witticism. Rank elitism, decadence in individuals and institutions are interpreted as a part of their charm and individuality. Such a critical attitude to life can be negated by first ridiculing social behaviour and then reasserting the values of civilization. Underneath the surface of absurdity and apathy can be perceived a basic value system, against which human aberrations are sharply contrasted.

Like Wyndham Lewis, Waugh saw the novel as a satiric form of modern art for coping with a postwar society in which "disorder seems notably prevalent, value historically extracted, chaos come again, as a direct result of the war and its disorientations and dehumanizations."⁴ Owing to the strange aberrations of modernization, Waugh's world is full of distorted human figures. His concern for the social and moral issues, and for the prevailing habits and fashions of the metropolitan smart set, conditions his literary style.

His first novel *Decline and Fall*, though it has the characteristic modern form, is close to certain traditional comic modes. The aberrations from the comic as well as the real world are juxtaposed in the self-sustaining and discrete universe of the novel. Like *Tom Jones*, its farcical-comic guise exposes a world that has its own laws and distinctive notions of fortune and justice. Though Waugh ridicules the lack of any sense of direction in the contemporary world, he is attracted by the courageous foolhardiness and the vitality of the young.

Written before his conversion to Roman Catholicism, he buoyantly

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portrays the absurd aspect of a disintegrated society where the permanent values have died, and the apparent decline of the English aristocracy has brought about a general moral and social decay. He seems to be outraged by such a society and is often accused of lacking a coherent view of life. The early works convey his sense of superiority over all Englishmen who do not belong to the upper-class, but no critical judgement can be based on only a part of an author's works. A close analysis of his novels shows the implicit coherence of life that he gradually achieves as he matures towards a Christian understanding of human nature. The more deeply he probes human misery, the more honest and authentic and universal grows his art. Until *Brideshead Revisited*, he had no explicit conception of religion. In the preceding novels, his moral commitment is seen in the oblique references that he makes to the order and integrity of a tradition which he later found in the Roman Catholic Church.

In *Decline and Fall*, by combining malicious satire with broad comedy, blending realism and fantasy, Waugh brings out the powerful comic situation of his anti-hero, Paul Pennyfeather, a natural victim exposed to forces he cannot contend with. His pants torn off by the rioting members of the aristocratic Bollinger Club, he is callously and unjustly rusticated from Scone college. He is hired as a schoolmaster at the totally impossible and pretentious prep school, Llanabba Castle, kept by a seedily elegant and an eccentric Englishman, Augustus Fagan. Here he encounters a staff composed of a cheerful and incorrigible criminal and a happy pederast called Captain Grimes, and a doubting and unhappily respectable parson called Prendergast. This absurd and farcical representation of a small and obscure public school has its gay moments, till Paul is engaged to Lady Margot Beste-Chetwynde, who lands him in prison on his wedding-day for inadvertently trafficking in white slave trade. The farce of prison routine culminates in Paul's removal from prison by staging a counterfeit death from appendicitis. Disguised by a moustache, he finally returns to the tranquility of Scone College to resume his theological studies. He has finally shunned the pretentious turmoil of Margot's aristocratic and irrational world of social climbers, politicians and homosexuals in favour of calm orthodoxy.

It is important to note that Waugh's first published works were a brief essay on the Pre-Raphaelites and a life of Rossetti, a scholarly study and serious work of interpretation and history. These two

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minor works did nothing to prepare him for *Decline and Fall*. The story of his first novel is a frank absurdity and though much of it seems improbable, the scenes ring true. The characters like Grimes or Margot or Paul are alive and the dialogue natural. Full of salacious innuendoes and delicious cynicism, the world he invented and decorated with extravagant *jeu d'esprit* is a comic world. Waugh's unfailing wit and destructive brilliance illumine such a world through which move characters with a mad logic and inconsequence, imparted to them by their creator's ironic vision of mankind.

With this loosely constructed first novel, Waugh successfully projected "the double vision of a satirist in which either seeming detachment or wild burlesque masks genuine concern for the absence of reasonableness in our lives."⁵ Grotesqueries and incongruities fill the novel, and the hero's response to them is cool and unperturbed, indicating that he accepts these as normal routine. Such a life of absurdity and bizarre action makes up the illogic of Waugh's fictional world which corresponds to the irrational and inhuman behaviour of individuals in modern society.

Waugh's satire is aimed mainly at such varieties of modern society as the high life and the Establishment, such as the educational and prison systems, and the Anglican Church. His treatment of extra-marital sex, homosexual schoolmasters and liberal social reformers, though quite radical and undermining, has a wide appeal. With a pleasing fancy, he "sees the humors of the public school tradition."⁶ It was the old desire of writers "to view life in terms of school."⁷ Julian Symons writes about the attitudes of the intelligentsia towards public schools :

The idea that every attitude contains its opposite is strikingly illustrated in the extraordinary concern felt by the intelligentsia with the public schools in the thirties. The public schools, it was said, were utterly barbarous and reactionary, had no place at all in any possible future society; they inculcated standards of behaviour quite inappropriate to the modern world; history was not on their side; in a sense, what the intelligentsia wanted more than anything else in the thirties was freedom from the principles endorsed by the authorities at public schools.⁸

In his criticism of the public school life, Waugh shows the absurdity

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of Llanabba, where teachers have a distaste for teaching, coupled with complete incompetence in the subjects they profess. The students are rewarded for writing an essay containing maximum words with no regard to the content.

Decline and Fall brings out Waugh's contradictory attitudes towards the public school life; he satirizes it as well as enjoys and almost accepts it as being essential to the English life style. There is stolid conservatism as well as progressive liberalism suggested in such an attitude, especially in a writer who belongs to the middle-class. Describing the membership of the Bollinger Club, Waugh humorously brings out the revolt of the younger generation against all principles endorsed by the authorities of public schools :

There is tradition behind the Bollinger; it numbers reigning kings among its past members. At the last dinner, three years ago, a fox had been brought in a cage and stoned to death with champagne bottles. What an evening that had been ! This was the first meeting since then, and from all over Europe old members had rallied for the occasion. For two days they had been pouring into Oxford : epileptic royalty from crumbling country seats; smooth young men of uncertain tastes from embassies and legations; illiterate lairds from wet granite hovels in the Highlands; ambitious young barristers and Conservative candidates torn from the London season and the indelicate advances of debutantes; all that was most sonorous of name and title was there for the beano.⁹

These highly cryptic remarks on the "reigning kings" of the society shows Waugh's satirical approach towards the upper class which consists of "epileptic royalty" and "uncouth peers" stoning a fox with champagne bottles. And if they now attack the chapel as Mr. Sniggs says, "Oh, please God, make them attack the Chapel" (p. 13), this would bring more fines for stocking the cellars with port. Here is a clear example of Waugh's nihilistic satire largely aimed at the upper strata of society. Well-to-do financial status or an aristocratic social background could have prevented Paul's unfair dismissal, but poverty receives no hearing from the Oxford administration. Waugh attacks the debilitating effects of "English Charm" described as "too English for my taste . . . too much nid-nodding over port."¹⁰ As in his later works, we see here his "penchant for anarchic Oxonian nonsense."¹¹

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There is a good deal of slapstick leering and mugging in the novel, a technique by which he could present as objectively as possible, his own subjective reactions to the different aspects of society and class. It is a critique of the gay and thoughtless world of the public schools and the impoverished aristocracy. Waugh has a sharp eye for the inherent absurdities of people and institutions. The passage cited above and the metaphors used to describe the aristocracy, highlight the decay in this class. Going to Oxford seems an aimless drift, leading nowhere.

Paul is a divinity student, living within his fixed allowance. Wearing a tie bearing resemblance to the Boller tie, he is waylaid by Lumsden of Strathdrummond who remarks : " 'Here's an awful man wearing the Boller tie,' said the Laird. It is not for nothing that since pre-Christian times his family has exercised Chieftainship over unchartered miles of barren moorland,' " (p. 15). Paul, an easy victim to the intoxicated Oxford fraternal group, is stripped of his clothes. There is nothing to worry as he is "someone of no importance" (p. 15) and, expelled from the college for indecency, is not fined as "he is not well off" (p. 15). In this drunk orgy of stripping, what is particularly noticeable is Lumsden's "jejune dialogue and the historical source of his confidence,"¹² an historical pretension which is then castigated by the words "unchartered" and "barren".

Not only are the historical pretensions ridiculed, but Pennyfeather's experiences of unreason and idiocies of the society in which he lives are used as a major satiric device. Apart from the protagonist, the novel derives its vitality from the less important characters who embody the perversion of meaningful values. Philbrick spins stories about his multifaceted identity as a duelist, an author, a theatre owner, a burglar and a pubkeeper. His mysterious and shifting identity, along with Grimes' wooden leg and Prendergast's wig, are all ways of opposing an encroaching reality that is as fragile and shadowy as their existence. Similarly, Paul undergoes identity changes, and Waugh intensifies his isolation by first labelling him as one who is "sent down for indecent behaviour" (p. 17) and then by enabling him to hoax his death, pretending to be his own distant cousin, returning to the same school, now disguised with a moustache. It is an escape from a chameleon-like society which is perpetually disguising moral and intellectual deficiencies.

Very interestingly, Robert Murray Davis points out that on

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comparison with the original manuscript, he discovered that in order to intensify the callousness of accepting labels like "sent down for indecent behaviour" (p. 17), Waugh inserted the scene where Paul questions his guardian, "'Have I no legal right to any money at all?'" (p. 17), thereby bringing up legal and moral issues. Later in the wedding scene, the narrator says :

A letter from Onslow Square, which Paul left unanswered, plainly intimated that Paul's guardian's daughter would take it as a personal slight, and as a severe blow to her social advancement, if she were not chosen as one of the bridesmaids (p. 91).

The letter is from his guardian, who had earlier rebuffed Paul and illegally confiscated his allowance and would not like him to share the house with his daughter. It shows Paul's ultimate triumph and the amorality behind his earlier rebuff. It is Paul's marriage to Lady Beste-Chetwynde, representative of the 'smart set', that brings about this change in his guardian's attitude, highlighting the basic complex in the middle-class—that of not losing any opportunity for self-advancement.

The meeker the portrayal of Pennyfeather as a bourgeois, the more devastating is Waugh's criticism of those who oppose him. The more the system punishes him, the more virtuous he becomes and the more savage becomes the indictment of the aristocracy. At the same time the bourgeois ideology is made to stand shamefaced and threadbare in the light of its own doctrines. The impossible ideal nature of Pennyfeather's virtue is indeed beyond realism, a kind of grave parody of official moral ideology, which pushed to an intolerable extreme, begins to betray a corrupt reality.

The novel was written before Waugh's conversion to Roman Catholicism. But faith never destroyed his veneration of wealth and birth. An almost mystical and idolatrous reverence for the upper class, free from any taint of morality, is discerned in a slightly burlesque form when Paul forgives Margot because he believes that :

.... there was, in fact, and should be, one law for her and another for himself, and that the raw little exertions of nineteenth-century Radicals were essentially base and trivial and misdirected. It was not simply that Margot had been very rich or that he had been in love with her. It was just that he saw the impossibility of Margot in prison; the bare connection of vocables associating the ideas was obscene (p. 113).

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Social snobbery of this nature is sardonic, though at times, his obvious class loyalties give his works an edge of fanaticism. His preoccupation with aristocracy is uncomfortably obvious. Waugh has Richardson's curious psychological blend of calmness and militancy and is submissive to gentility, being not averse to luxury and licentiousness. This is obvious from his adoption of the ways and means of a country gentleman after he achieved recognition. He represents a class that paradoxically believes in social hierarchy and yet affirms individualism.

Llanabba Castle looks "formidable feudal" where boys come "from the very best families" (p. 19). Little Lord Tangent "has come to us this term, the Earl of Circumference's son, you know" (p. 19). Coming from the Headmaster, who himself belongs to the middle class, these remarks obviously bring out Waugh's fascination for the aristocracy. The upper classes are not to be tried. Like the lower classes, they know their place and have grown accustomed to it. It is the people in between, social nomads shuffling from lower-middle to middle-middle, who are always worrying about making an impression. But the names like 'Tangent' and 'Lady Circumference' indicate Waugh's attitude towards the aristocracy and the public school. Mrs. Beste-Chetwynde's son shows signs of class consciousness with his concern for the use of napkins even though such consciousness never stops him from being totally undisciplined as he opts for music to get away from the gym. The other school master, Grimes, comments on the corrupt social system which favours one if one has been educated in a public school :

'Is it quite easy to get another job after—after you've been in the soup ?' asked Paul, 'Not at first, it isn't, but there are ways. Besides you see, I'm a public school man. That means everything. There's a blessed equity in the English social system,' said Grimes, 'that ensures the public schoolman against starvation. One goes through four or five years of perfect hell at an age when life is bound to be hell anyway, and after that the social system never lets one down.' (pp. 24-25)

He argues that the old school tie has protected him. On being expelled from school at the age of sixteen, he has carried a letter of recommendation from his house master, another public school product. He remarks, "It's been very useful at one time or another. That's

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the public school system all over. They may kick you out, but they never let you down' " (p. 25). Grimes' language and values, his reflections on the public schools and the honour of the regiment are penetrating glimpses of a suppressed rich underworld of English life. Being a product of the establishment and distinctly ungentlemanlike, he knows how to outwit the system and survive. He, unlike Paul, refuses to be overwhelmed by conventional society where "form, not substance, matters."¹³

A system with schools like Llanabba, where Pennyfeather teaches music without having any knowledge of it, or where a school master like Philbrick becomes a pimp, offering the station-master's sister to Paul and Grimes, shows a crisis in western civilization. Not only the public school system which helps you to get along on the credentials that you belong to one of them, but the doubt that has come into the religious belief shows what the English society was passing through. Probably, this is what Prendergast is hinting at when he talks about his past life as a clergyman who began to have doubts : " 'I couldn't understand why God had made the world at all' " (p. 27). He voices the thematic concern of the novel with the eccentric and the insane who move across the pages of the novel. Like Paul, Prendergast can never rise above obstacles and remains a born victim. He goes wrong in every move he makes and is ridiculed by his students. All absurd exaggerations found in the improbable group of characters seem plausible only because of Paul's innocence. As opposed to Prendergast, Grimes has never had doubts. He explains his philosophy of life :

You know, God's in His heaven, all's right with the world. I can't quite explain it, but I don't believe one can ever be unhappy for long, provided one does just exactly what one wants to and when one wants to (p. 28).

It is not only this type of freedom that is inculcated in the younger generation, but a kind of 'fastidiousness' taught to them, a habit leading to the ultimate integration of the upper-middle class with the aristocracy. Arthur Potts, a friend from Scone College writes to Paul :

.... It seems to me that the great problem of education is to train the moral perceptions, not merely to discipline the appetites. I cannot help thinking that it is in greater

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fastidiousness rather than in greater self-control that the future progress of the race lies (p. 33).

This middle-class attitude is seen in Paul's rationalizing his acceptance of compensation from Digby-Vaine-Trumington whose party has brought irreparable harm to his future :

'... But', said Paul Pennyfeather, 'there is my honour. For generations the British bourgeoisie have spoken of themselves as gentlemen, and by that they have meant, among other things, a self-respecting scorn of irregular perquisites. It is the quality that distinguishes the gentleman from both the artist and the aristocrat. Now I am a gentleman. I can't help it; it's born in me. I just can't take the money' (p. 34).

But he does agree to accept the money and feels "a great wave of satisfaction surge up within him" (p. 34). What a durability of ideals ! After receiving the money he will take his colleagues to the Metropole for a celebration.

Waugh, who belongs to the middle-class, knows its seeming neutrality of expression and tone. Philbrick, who enjoys being called "Sir Solemn Philbrick" "does not like putting up the tent on the sports-day as it is degrading. For the sports-day party the "butter has to do for three loaves" (p. 43) and the crusts must be cut as thin as possible. The masters must not join the party owing to shortage of food. The champagne-cup is only for the chief guest. And when the guests arrive, their cars must turn aside from the drive, and come right into the ground as it will give a pleasant background to the photographs. The photographer has to be directed to give more prominence to Mrs. Beste-Chetwynde's Hispana Suiza than to Lady Circumference's "Little-moter-car". "All these things count, you know" (p. 44) is a clinching remark by the Headmaster, revealing the complexity in the English middle-class character which looks up to the aristocracy, tries to ape its manners and at the same time redefines its own manners as a gesture of self assertion.

Along with this hypocrisy, Dr. Fagan shows his dislike of the Welsh band which is "low of brow, crafty of eye and crooked of limb ... I refuse to believe the evidence of my eyes ... these creatures simple do not exist" (p. 44). He is excessively class conscious and is prejudiced against the "lower orders". He does not consider Captain Grimes a gentleman

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and admits :

... I hope you do not think me a snob. You may have discerned in me a certain prejudice against the lower orders. It is quite true. I do feel deeply on the subject. You see, I married one of them ... (pp. 62-63).

The Headmaster arouses feelings of inferiority and lack of self-confidence in Grimes after his marriage to his daughter. He begins to feel a "pretty coarse sort of chap" (p. 68) and realizes that he has neither knowledge of art, nor an acquaintance with grand people. He admits :

I am not what he calls 'out of the top drawer'. I never pretended I was, but the thing is that up till now it hasn't worried me ... I feel half ashamed of myself all the time. And I've come to recognise that supercilious look he gives me in other people's eyes as well ... I'm getting an inferiority-complex ... (pp. 68-69).

Waugh's sense of humour is acutely class conscious and reactionary, marked by prejudices and temperamental predispositions. He reproduces social gestures, verbal and behavioural, for lower as well as upper-class types. He ridicules all that is not stylishly aristocratic. The description of the aristocracy, represented at the sports day by Lord and Lady Circumference and Lady Margot Beste-Chetwynde, is humorous to the point of sarcasm. Lady Margot speaks with a high invariable voice that may be heard in any Ritz hotel. The guests engage in small talk, holding forth on the rain not doing any good to the turnip, or life in England not being too expensive. The grandly arrogant Lady Circumference "never felt quite at ease with people richer than herself" (p. 54). The black Sebastian "Chokey" Cholmondley, accompanying Beste-Chetwynde, is class-conscious when he is at his best behaviour. He loves Shakespeare, cathedrals and the paintings of old masters and asserts that he has the same soul as the whites :

Isn't he just asking for your love and help to raise him from the servitude into which your forefathers plunged him ? Oh, say, White folks, why don't you stretch out a helping hand to the poor coloured man, that's as good as you are, if you'll only let him be ? (p. 54).

Though this episode of social comedy brings out Chokey's pretensions, there is an undercurrent of pathos in the self-serving attitudes of the

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society of the Chetwyndes and Circumferences, who have no enthusiasm for Shakespeare or art.¹⁴ In other words, if the blacks or the middle class can talk about the great masters and go to Oxford, they can equal the aristocracy. This seems to be the main endeavour of the lower and middle classes, taken in by Lady Margot's car : "but how ostentatious of her to bring a footman" (p. 55). To be asked if they have heard of Thomas Hardy, their pride is hurt. They contemplate on the relationship between Margot and Chokey and though they castigate it, in their heart admire it as a "simple case of good old sex" (p. 56). It is Waugh's conscious revolt against a class and its standards along with an unconscious acceptance of them for his caricature of the upper-class manners is not gross or unpleasant like that of the middle-class.

During the vacations, Paul dines with an old friend, Arthur Potts, and all the "sham castellations and preposterous inhabitants" (p. 76) of Llanabba Castle sink into oblivion. The hero has undergone a change right at the start of the novel which is in fact "an account of the mysterious disappearance of Paul Pennyfeather, so that readers must complain if the shadow which took his name does not amply fill the important part of hero for which he was originally cast" (p. 77). He was being trained to order a dinner without embarrassment and in a credible French accent, and be trusted to see to the luggage at foreign railway-stations in order that he might be expected to acquit himself with decorum in all the emergencies of civilized life. But things for him turned out differently after the fateful Bollinger dinner.

In the company of Beste-Chetwynde he passes into the serene ancestral beauty of the English country from a world that has lost its reason. He feels the "superb succession of the seasons, the harmonious interdependence of the rich and the poor, of dignity, innocence and tradition but this feeling was abruptly brought to an end as soon as he saw King's Thursday" (p. 78) modified from Gothic to a modern chromium and glass monstrosity. By tearing down King's Thursday, Margot Beste-Chetwynde has become the agent of destruction of all that is valuable and venerable in English culture. Waugh sees in the demolition of King's Thursday, the final disintegration of a dying civilization and the traditional aristocratic order. Professor Silenus has redesigned it into a functional monstrosity appropriate to its inhabitants. He represents those "hordes of men, well-trained in the art of demolition", who with their "monstrous steam shovels" undermine the most "stubborn roots of culture, sledge hammers that shatter ancient rocks of tradition, grotesque

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iron claws that tear down the spires of religion.”¹⁵ The Professor's idea about architecture is revealing and perfectly suited to his task :

The problem of architecture as I see it . . . is the problem of all art—the elimination of the human element from the consideration of form. The only perfect building must be a factory, because that is built to house machines, not men . . . Man is never beautiful; he is never happy except when he becomes the channel for the distribution of mechanical forces (pp. 75-76).

Transformation of King's Thursday into “something clean and square” can fully be understood in terms of the ruination of a tradition. As with Hooper in *Brideshead Revisited*, Professor Silenus recognises that man's answer to contemporary confusion and complexity is complete dehumanization. The destruction of the country house, symbolic of the traditional value structures, holds no appeal for the new barbarians, who have done away with humanity and God.

The world that Paul has moved into is a world where betrayal and instability of human relationship are common. His hopeless struggles with the denizens of the modern age, including selfish or angry women, provide frustrations and their antidote. Such a world is beyond the graps of his innocence because it is amoral and modern. Mothers fail to recognise their children, lovers part, children steal from their parents. Waugh will go on to satirize the Mayfair high society in *Vile Bodies*. But what can be noted about the humour of *Decline and Fall* is that “the convention which is its prerequisite is established by virtue of a deliberate detachment from reality.”¹⁶ D. S. Savage is excessively harsh in suggesting that Waugh holds the world of human experience “at such a distance as to preclude the possibility of its being taken seriously; at a distance at which persons become puppets and thereby appropriate objects of diversion.”¹⁷ In fact, this type of mad parody or detachment tends to cover up a genuine concern for the lack of rationality and normality in our lives. This is done consciously by the satirist to arouse the sympathy of the reader for the innocent protagonist who becomes a prey to the perverted society of high life and pseudo-sophistication. The moral commentary remains indirect and implicit under the weight of the comic elements which predominate.

There is cruel humour in the death of Tangent or in the stoning of the fox to death. Lady Circumference, resolving to boycott Margot Beste-Chetwynde's ostentatious second wedding, says, “It's madenin' Tangent having died just at this time. People may think that that's

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my reason for refusing" (p. 91). These stray episodes depict degeneracy in the postwar England, where perverse entertainment of killing a fox are morbidly enjoyed, or a son's death is taken to be a mere social inconvenience.

Like the plot of *Decline and Fall*, life also is a meaningless dance. Paul is an innocent who learns from experience. He gradually comes to appreciate the value of orthodox convention. Greivously wounded in his encounter with Margot's giddy world of nerve-ending series of events, he is content with solitary confinement after being arrested for involvement in the slave trade. "The loss of his personal possessions gave him a curiously agreeable sense of irresponsibility" (p. 99) when he reports at the counter of the prison. This is crucial in foreshadowing his placid and instantaneous acceptance of his "static" nature and his return to Oxford, which, ironically, marked the beginning of his misfortunes. Through a satiric technique founded on innuendo and reticence, Waugh shows the difference between Prendergast and Pennyfeather by his choice of a closed system of orthodoxy at the end. Paul has learned that the essential self lies beyond the forms that exist in the novel and that different rules of law apply differently to various people. Professor Otto Silenus gives him a formula with which to judge his experience, that of riders on the wheel that people mistakenly define as life: "the scrambling and excitement and bumps and the effort to get to the middle. And when we do get to the middle, it's just as if we never started" (p. 124). Paul was never meant to get on the wheel as he is static and not dynamic. It is after this realization that Paul, marked by an almost prelapsarian innocence, slowly graduates into maturity and a knowledge of the reality that underlies surface appearances. The conversion of the "problematic hero" has finally taken place. It is therefore incorrect to criticize the innocent hero's inability to grow up, as many critics have held.¹⁸

Back in Oxford, he reads Dr. Fagan's book *Mother Wales* and before retiring for the night puts it next to Dean Stanley's *Eastern Church*, thereby recognizing the existence of contradictory but coequal systems of thought. In the lecture on the heresies of the Bishop of BIRTHYNIA he is happy to know that the Bishop was condemned. The lecture provides him with a system in which he can find solace, as it punishes the perverters, though the heathen may go unscathed. Retiring for the night at the end of the novel implies that his adventures through the effete school systems at Scone and Llanabba, the corrupt

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upper class society of Beste-Chetwynde, who though an aristocrat, is engaged in slave traffic, and the ineffective penal system of which he has a first hand experience, are all over. Paul's journey through the diverse but commonly decadent society is over and has provided Waugh an overall structural device for exploring the several elements of modern society and its representative characters. I agree with Hollis that the major thematic contribution of this book is its "picture of a society of irremediable futility."¹⁹ And Waugh's preoccupation with innocence offers a deeper understanding of his satirical art. Paul accepts his fate stoically, but behind him stands the writer who constantly ridicules the hypocrisies and inhuman behaviour of man, outraged as he is at them.

Waugh did not stay still even after his conversion to Roman Catholicism. He joined the war and continued to watch the antics of others, often laughing bitterly. Shortly before his death he recalled the stable 'aristocratic' years at Underhill Hampstead: "To have been born into a world of beauty, to die amid ugliness is the common fate of all us exiles."²⁰ This indictment of the modern world is there at the start of his career in *Decline and Fall*. It will be more realistically presented in *The Sword of Honour* trilogy. The exaggerations and irrationality of human nature which arouse such hysterical laughter in his early works will be seen as disintegration of belief and the breakdown of the traditional aristocratic order in his maturer works, especially *Brideshead Revisited*.

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WAR AND THE AMERICAN NOVELISTS : THE DIALECTIS OF RESPONSE

B. Gopal Rao

Any study of the American war-novel involves discussion of some basic issues which have been the recurrent concerns of the American consciousness. The war novelists such as, Norman Mailer, Irwin Shaw, Truman Capote, Gore Vidal, James Jones and others, tackle these concerns from the view point of a radically transformed socio-historical reality which controverted many of the precedent value systems. Whether their responses to the changed social reality are fully achieved in their novels is still a debatable point. Yet, it cannot be denied that these writers sensed a profound change in the basic structure of human life as a result of the impact of war.

To understand the response of the war novelists to the changed social reality which some of these novelists directly experienced as participants, one helpful frame of reference has been provided by Jerry H. Bryant. Discussing the intellectual background of the contemporary American novel, he points out that the key to understand it in what may be called the "open decision" about certain basic aspects of life. Bryant argues that if all literature is, after Wittgenstein, a language-game, then the language-game which we call "contemporary American fiction"—including war fiction—has its own ground rules. These rules according to Bryant are basically of two kinds to its realization :

The problems of human life that preoccupy the novelists arise from the assumptions basic to the game. Thus, the focus of attention of almost every novelist....is upon two related things; first the way in which the individual human being can become more himself; and second, the obstacles to that achievement.¹

Bryant further argues that the central problem as a result of these two impulses lies in the conflict that ensues between an expanding consciousness reaching out after self-fulfilment and a constriction of this expansion through the interference of social and political institutions. In short, "open decision" is the deliberate acceptance of a way of life committed

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to the "relative", implying a denial of the "absolutes". This is rooted in the rejection of what Bryant calls the "transcendent perfection". But paradoxically enough, in spite of its rejection, the individual (the creative writer) continues to believe in human solidarity.

This cluster of forces—the quest for the self with the attendant frustration by social and political forces coupled with a denial of transcendent absolutes—arose, as Randolph S. Bourne argues, from the creative writer's consciousness of the implicit aridity in the American situation. In fact, Bourne argues that the "allure of fresh and true ideas, of free speculation, of artistic vigor, of cultural styles, of intelligence suffused by feeling given fibre and outline by intelligence"² come to the writers of the first war period—from a deepseated discontent with some of the extant patterns of American life. He points out :

Whence can come this allure ? Only from those who are thorough malcontents. Irritation at things as they are, disgust at the continual frustrations and aridities of American life, deep dissatisfaction with self and with the groups that give themselves forth as hopeful—out of such moods there might be hammered new values.³

These observations by Bourne generally known as "the intellectual hero of World War I, "are meant to signify the mood of the young during the first World War. But this historical limitation does not diminish the significance of the fact that the "malcontentment" continues to haunt American writer even after the war's completion. In fact, the mood gets intensified and culminates in an indictment of the entire establishment in the war novels of Norman Mailer, Irwin Shaw, John Cobb, Dan Levin, James Jones, Herman Wouk.

In these terms, what is central to this fiction is the shift of attention of the American novelist from the alleged idealism of the nation to the brutal realities of life. American life is, by assumption, built on the basic ideal of democracy and humanism committed to the welfare of the individual and the community irrespective of socio-political, or ideological considerations. But the war spells a disaster to these high-sounding ideals for war meant and involved the repudiation of the sanctity of the individual, and the ruthless authoritarianism of the military which tramples upon all kinds of liberty in the name of democracy. In addition, there is also the phenomenon of what Chester E. Eisinger has called "the ritualistic victims"⁴ of war—the

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Jews and the Negroes. Implicit here is the war of polarized political ideologies. All these factors get clustered and crystallized in the institution of the military which is the paradigm of cruelty and oppression of all sorts. As Bryant has pointed out :

These socio-political war novels, with one or two exceptions, see the military organization, as the prime inhibitor of individual fulfilment. The instrument of this organization is the totalitarian officer or enlisted man, and its analogue is the literal totalitarian in Germany and Japan which the apparatus was created to fight. It is a specific example of the apparatus Jaspers feared, and bears similarities to Heidegger's "they".⁵

This leads, says Bryant, to the emergence of "fascism" as the inevitable consequence in all the areas of individual and collective life. With the advent of Fascism we find that the inevitable casualties are freedom and democracy on which American idealism rests. In short, through its intricate process of liquidation of humanistic values, the war machine threatens to grind the American idealism to dust. The war novelists treat this emergence of the fascist tendency with great insight though, in some cases, the creative writer himself becomes a helpless victim of the corresponding erosion of values. As Bryant puts it :

The novelists specifically identify it as fascist in that it enforces obedience and submission through fear and violence, minimizing individual contrasts and possibilities in order to strengthen its own structure. The main tool of the fascist is the machine, which consigns the individual to a role of secondary importance, ties him to a rigid mechanical pattern, and empties him of the power to resist. The two main victims of the fascist apparatus and the apparatus' tools are an idealized American society which is seen as the provider of both order and freedom, and the individual soldier who is put into the impossible position of having either to surrender his humanity to the system or lose his physical life in resisting it.⁶

We can on this basis infer that the American idealistic tendencies suffer considerable dent as a result of the war. In fact, nihilism, alienation and self-imposed exile become the ruling passions. This, of course, has a further implication. We can say that the preoccupation with war as a major thematic concern made the American writers link, for the first

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time, fiction and politics. Today if we talk about the sociology of the novel, or the novel as a social institution, this shift in critical sensibility has as its basis the transformation brought about by American war novelists in fiction through the linking of politics and fiction. Political forces as moulders of individual and national destiny begin to invariably appear as integral components of fiction and the initial impulse came primarily if not exclusively, from the war novelists. As George A. Panichas, points out while discussing the relation between the novel and politics :

Whatever the problems of criticism or the pronouncements of critics may be, it is certain that creative artists in the modern age are increasingly preoccupied with social problems as a whole and with political problems in particular. For the modern writer politics in all its forms, as theory, as commitment, as action, has become a matter of consciousness and of conscience. Aesthetic considerations are invariably colored by socio-political demands.⁷

From this perspective one can say that the war novel embodies an important dimension of the progressive manifestation of political consciousness in the American sensibility. Basic to this consciousness is the decline of the most significant feature of the American way of life—sensibility : a sense of identity. Edmond L. Volpe recalls with shock the first traumatic experience of witnessing hundreds of people in dull, dead uniforms. Under identical helmets, not one man was distinguishable from another. Each uniformed figure was a “stamped-out cog in a gigantic marching machine.”⁸ He recalls that “at twenty, I had never doubted my significance and my future importance to the universe. But I knew suddenly I had metamorphosed into number 31337580.”⁹ He sees the entire spectacle of anonymous men as an “inexorable mau that chewed up unsuspecting individualists and turned them into identical links in a never-ending human sausage for the delectation of the war gods.”¹⁰

Volpe points out that this was the great “trauma” : “the vision of anonymity.” And he sees this relentless wiping out of the identity of the individual as the one major change in perspective which separated the generation which had grown up on Hemingway and Dos Passos and Cummings from the generation which actually experienced the war.

This basic issue of identity is related to several other motifs which are far more complex. Once the identity is lost in anonymity, it would

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mean that the centuries' old conflict between the individual and fate, between freedom and predestiny is reenacted in a different form and resolved once again at the expense of individual freedom. Destiny now takes the form of the authoritarian military regime and the individual is at its mercy. In a sense it is the triumph also of "indiscriminate governance of chance". This is virtual liquidation of what one can describe as any casual link between "virtue and destiny". For, the spattering mortar fragments destroy both the very brave and the abjectly coward.

Consequently, there is a basic shift "of the balance", to use Bryant's words, "between individual freedom and social order". The individual has to abridge his freedoms in an attempt to accommodate himself to what he regards as unquestionable loyalties and contingencies of the social existence. In this case the contingency is the war situation which demands conformity and sacrifice of other forms of loyalties. But in the process of sacrificing his freedom he realizes that he has merely aided and abetted a ruthless authoritarian machine. Thus the judgement against the authoritarian and the society he seeks to establish is expressed by the socio-political war novelist mainly by showing them as oppressors of the individual.

This abridgement, of individual freedom as an initial act of heroism and its eventual seduction by authoritarian forces is the essence of the tragic outlook that the war novelist reflects. It is a tragedy rooted initially in idealism, an idealism which quickly realizes that it contains within itself the seeds of its own disaster. The confrontation between the individual trying to retain his identity and the anonymity of war trying to devour it, is a creation thus, not merely of the authoritarian temper which marks war but also of the idealistic strain which makes the individual vulnerable because of that very idealism.

The imbalance between the individual and the social forces which we find in war fiction has of course several thematic and structural variations in accordance with the perspective of the concerned writer. Mailer, for instance, "has no hero who achieves a high intensity of individual satisfaction. He shows confidence not so much in the promise of individuality as in the impossibility of establishing of planned society enforced by consolidated power."¹¹

In James Jones, however, the basic conflict is between the hero's

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quest for self-fulfilment and its constant frustration through forces of an authoritarian regime, the primary manifestation of which is fascism. And fascism can also have incarnations familiar nearer home : the American army. The result is in either case a seduction to social force and its inevitable aftermath i.e., as Norman Mailer describes it, "collective cowardice."

But it is also necessary to remember the distinct quality which sets Jones apart : his capacity to evoke the ethos of war with a vividness unequalled by anyone else. As Alfred Kazin has put it, "the documentation" of James Jones "lives on in one's mind with a surly ominous bitterness" and this is because war is presented and evoked as "a piece of social reality"; in fact we get the feeling that "war helps men to get along in the world, war is just another part of the natural world."¹²

This vividness of sensuous perception able to present facts without any kind of authorial or aesthetic coloring, particularly facts of war which are brutal and inhuman, makes Jones a chronicler of war almost without a peer. This in spite of the fact that technically Jones' rhetoric is often naive. In effect, as Kazin, analyzing the implications of Jones' "Naturalness", points out, even his occasional rhetoric seems as retarded as some of his characters.

The war novel, in the case of Irwin Shaw, shows another interesting motif : the Jewish predicament in the character of Noah Ackerman an American Jew who wages a courageous battle against anti-semitism among Americans, thereby leading Whitaker toward commitment. The Jewishness both in Shaw and Mailer is a very complex affair which needs careful analysis.

With Bellow and Mailer one can say that the Jews get into the center of American fiction. Therefore, two strands—the American and the Jewish—get blended in American fiction. One important offshoot of this blend is alienation rooted in the very fact of being a Jew. As Alfred Kazin has pointed out, some times the alienation can take the form of a cruel joke often on oneself. This is seen by Kazin as a problem that touches the wider circle of American fiction itself involving questions of self-assertion. He observes :

So much self-assertion is a problem among contemporary American novelists, not least among Jewish writers who have

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been released into the novel under the comic guise of getting clinically close to their own minds. Jewishness as the novelist's material (which can be quite different from the individual material of Jews writing fiction) is constructed folklore. It is usually comic or at least humorous, the characters are always ready to tell a joke on themselves. With their bizarre names, their accents, *their* language, they are jokes on themselves. And so they become "Jewish" material, which expresses not the predicament of the individual who knows himself to be an exception but a piece of the folk, of "Jewishness" as a style of life and point of view.¹³

In these terms, Mailer, for instance, presents an interesting study of "Jewishness". His assertive individuality is in fact a sense of alienation masquerading as an outsized ego. Gifted with what Kazin has called "social omnivorousness", Mailer probably found the unilateral Jewish identity "crippling" his amazing versatility. This resulted in projecting his image in public unabashedly in all sorts of masques. By this projection Mailer succeeded in transcending the private identity of the Jew and an obsessive concern with it. This does not mean that Mailer totally controverted his Jewishness. It only means that he possessed the talent to transform what was a group phenomenon of Jewish identity into the contours which accommodate the totality of American consciousness itself. It is in this sense that one can say that he converted his most intimate wishes and fears into public symbols. Therefore, the increasing "dislike" of Jewishness is not a rejection of Jewishness but a gradual realization that the predicament of the Jew is only a reflection of the larger, more pervasive, predicament of the American psyche itself. It is in these terms that one has to analyze Mailer's response to war whether initially in *The Naked and the Dead* or in the more recent *Why Are We in Vietnam*?

In Wouk and Cozzens, the central concern with self and its identity as impelled by the war-experience takes on a different turn. Here war is seen, in spite of its cruelty and inhumanity, as unavoidable, as something of a recurrent phenomenon. Thus these two represent a dissenting voice in the American responses to war.

The contents of this dissent are difficult to identify. But basic to this dissent is the acceptance of the institution rather than the

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individual in the machinery of war. There is, consequently, in Wouk an almost irrational acceptance of the totality of the war situation in spite of its absurdities and paradoxes. This is seen not merely as an article of faith but as a viable plank for meaningful action in the face of war. As Joseph J. Waldmeir has pointed out, both Wouk and Cozzens

feel that a man's duty in a war is to think positively, to close his eyes to ironies, to relinquish his conscience to men and institutions which, had as they might be, operate expediently for the greatest good of the greatest number. In both (novelists) the sacrifice of human rights and dignities is demanded for the sake of victory.¹⁴

An interesting variation of this is found in the response to the controversial issue of Fascism. Fascism is seen not as intrinsically evil but as only contextually bad. In other words, in the ideological battle, it is the liberals with their illdigested ideas of personal freedom versus regimentation who confuse the situation and cripple the power to act. This ostensibly anti-intellectual stance appears prominently in *The Caine Mutiny*. Whether this is defensible or not this is an issue which should be reckoned with in any analysis of the war-novel.

Finally, we have in Hemingway another attitude to war: that of affirmation or what is better described as humanism in the midst of cruelty (in his famous phrase "grace under pressure".) But one has to be careful in using the word "humanism" vis-a-vis Hemingway. This is because he was extremely distrustful of value-loaded words. As he makes Frederic Henry say in *A Farewell to Arms*:

I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice and the expression in vain. We had heard them, sometimes standing in the rain out of earshot, so that only the shouted words came through, and had read them on proclamations that were slapped up by billposters over other proclamations, now for a long time, and I had seen nothing sacred, and the things that were glorious had no glory and the sacrifices were like the stockyards at Chicago if nothing was done with the meat except to bury it. There were many words that you could not stand to hear and finally only the

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names of places had dignity. Certain numbers were the same way and certain dates and these with the names of the places were all you could say and have them mean anything. Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of regiments and the dates. Gino was a patriot, so he said things that separated us sometimes, but he was also a fine boy and I understood his being a patriot. He was born one.¹⁵

If this is any clue, it is obvious that it is war which made all ideas of traditional sanctity suspect. This is also a return, from the structural point of view, to naturalism and realism in evoking objects and experience. But then Hemingway is also, at the same time, playing what Saul Bellow has called a "sophisticated game" of fiction.

While the war experience taught Hemingway the hollowness of several words glorified in traditions, at the same time he was also aware that the underlying psychic implications cannot be dismissed outright or washed away. It is necessary to come to terms with these ideas if any sense of dignity is to be salvaged from the human condition. In turn, this meant a rediscovering of the phenomena of values without using traditional idiom for these values. This kind of affirmation of values is seen by Saul Bellow as representing "a great skepticism" regarding art :

In *A Farewell to Arms* Hemingway makes a list of subjects we must no longer speak about—a catalogue of polluted words, words which have been ruined by the rhetoric of criminal politicians and misleaders. Then Hemingway, and we must respect him for it, attempts to represent these betrayed qualities without using the words themselves. Thus we have courage without the word, honor without the word, and in *The Old Man and the Sea* we are offered sort of Christian endurance, also without specific terms. Carried to this length, the attempt to represent ideas while sternly forbidding thought begins to look like a curious and highly sophisticated game. It shows a great skepticism of strength of art¹⁶.

Hemingway, in these terms, represents an affirmation of humanistic values in the context of war but the technique of affirmation is very

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"curious". Hemingway is suspicious only of the inflated rhetoric which conceals the actual absence of values. He is not skeptical about values but only of the false rhetoric which distracts our attention from the implications or consequences of action on the basis of these values. The phenomena of values is experiential, therefore valid; the terminology is suspect because it is cliché-ridden. This gives rise to interesting responses to war which involve both liquidation and affirmation of basic values in a paradoxical simultaneity.

NOTES

1. Jerry H. Bryant, *The Open Decision* (New York : 1970), p. 7.
2. Randolph S. Bourne, *War and the Intellectuals, Collected Essays, 1915-1919* (New York : 1964), p. 63.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Chester E. Eisinger, *Fiction of the Forties* (Chicago : 1963), p. 31.
5. Jeffry H. Bryant, *The Open Decision*, pp. 119—120.
6. *Ibid.*
7. George A. Panichas, "Introduction," *The Politics of Twentieth-Century Novelists*, (New York : 1974), p. 4.
8. Edmond L. Volpe, "James Jones—Norman Mailer," *Contemporary American Novelists*, ed. Harry T. Moore, (Carbondale, 1964), p. 106.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Bryant, *The Open Decision*, pp. 127-8.
12. Alfred Kazin, *Bright Book of Life* (Boston: 1973), p. 78.
13. Kazin, *Bright Book of Life*, p. 138.
14. Joseph Waldmeir, *American Novels of the Second World War*, The Hague, 1971), p. 125.
15. Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York, 1929), p. 191.
16. Saul Bellow, "Where Do We go from Here : The Future of Fiction," *Critical Approaches to Fiction*, Kumar and McKean, eds. (New York, 1968), p. 9.

'A SEPARATE PEACE': NATURE OF ALIENATION IN HEMINGWAY'S SHORT FICTION

Syed Ali Hamid

Alienation as a factor in Hemingway fiction has been written about extensively,¹ although few critics have cared to throw any light on the nature of the alienation portrayed in Hemingway.²

Alienation as a human condition has been variously defined. G. Petrovic suggests that the meaning of the term may be found in the etymology and the morphology of the word, "... the meaning in which alienation (or estrangement is the act, or the result of the act, through which something, or somebody becomes (or has become) alien (or strange) to something, or somebody else."³ Such an interpretation, though literally accurate, does not fully explain the metaphor implied in the discussion of alienation as a feature of a certain type of literary model. In fact, Petrovic's error lies in treating a little too literally what is so obviously a metaphor. Frank Johnson argued that the fundamental action of alienation is a very old one :

As a human drama, Genesis is the story of separation—creation and the 'fall, closeness followed by estrangement Absurd or not, man is driven from Eden to the importunities, anxieties, and duality of life outside of an integrating Paradise. Alienation is his chronic moral state, possibly his eternal condition.⁴

Frank Johnson's extension of the term to cover a general human condition, a condition which he considers both innate and natural, creates difficulties of another kind. To apply his notion of alienation to literature would make of alienation a fact of existence and therefore not particularly relevant for a specific study of an equally specific human malaise. The concept of alienation was first philosophically elaborated Hegel, followed by Feuerbach and Karl Marx. Petrovic states on the authority of Hegel : "Nature is only a self-alienated (self-estranged)

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form of Absolute Mind, and man is the Absolute in the process of dealienation,"⁵ and, according to Feuerbach, "Man is not self-alienated God. On the contrary, God is self-alienated man. He is man's essence absolutized and estranged from man."⁶ Other modern writers have also tried to annotate the notion of alienation. According to Eric and Mary Josephson, alienation is "an individual feeling or state of dissociation from self, from others, and from the world at large."⁷ Erich Fromm appears to be elaborating this very root-idea when he says :

[Alienation is] a mode of experience in which the person experiences himself as an alien. He has become one might say, estranged from himself. He does not experience himself as the center of his world, as the creator of his own acts—but his acts and consequences have become his masters, whom he obeys, or whom he may even worship. The alienated person is out of touch with himself as he is out of reach with any person. He, like the others, is experienced as things are experienced, with the sense and with common sense, but at the same time without being related to oneself and to the world outside productively.⁸

Sociologists following Karl Marx's thesis on four forms of alienation⁹ have described it as a product of sociological conflict between man and society in different but often interrelated situations of stress. The work of Lewis Feuer¹⁰ and Melvin Seeman¹¹ provides examples in which attempt has been made to categorise human condition in terms of relevant sociology. Basically, the two major types of alienation, the social and the individual, form the basis for voluminous literature on the subject by students of sociology and human anthropology.¹²

It is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty whether Hemingway considered any of the aforesaid notions of alienation as particularly close to his own view of the human condition; but, considering the text of the short stories as data, it is possible to draw the conclusion that Hemingway portrayed man when he was no longer actively a part of the world that he inhabited. Hemingway protagonists in a state of alienation are largely passive agents and things happen to them through a concatenation of environment and circumstances which are not of their making and towards which their attitude is that of placid indifference. It is a peculiar human condition that Hemingway

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portrays in characters such as Krebs who are no longer "in His kingdom" ('Soldier's Home', *SS*, p. 151). It would appear that such an attitude is the very opposite of the image Hemingway projected of himself, so that the world of his fiction and the world of his belief as a human being do not meet and are often in conflict. The imaginative world the writers create is often an extension of their own perception of the world. In Dostoevsky and Kafka, for instance, the real and the imaginative co-exist in complementary distribution. In Hemingway fiction portraying alienation the two worlds war with each other ceaselessly: the inertia and lack of will portrayed in some of his fiction is in singular contrast with Hemingway's passionate belief in free will and his arrogant affirmation of self-sufficiency.

Alienation, as reflected in the state of consciousness of some of the Hemingway protagonists, then, is the effect rather than the cause of a peculiar human situation in which manly initiatives stand unredeemably frozen. It is a state of literal 'personality-impotence' and of which the decay of the phallic ideal becomes a mere symptom ('A Pursuit Race,' *SS*, pp. 350—355). While it is the nature of man to be in active interaction with his world, the war and the aftermath of war has been shown to have completely blocked that process of interaction. The 'separate peace' is the resignation that comes from an acceptance of this state of passivity. The nature of experience that leads to this kind of passivity is largely suggested in Hemingway, and gives to his narratives a more awesome aspect.

The short stories of Hemingway portray three different kinds of situations leading to alienation. In the first set, sense of loss and utter exhaustion almost completely paralyses the human initiative and he fails to respond to his situation adequately or effectively. Mr. Frazer, for instance, in "The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio", suffers frequent nervous break-downs and in order to maintain some degree of hold on life searches for occupations which would keep him engaged and 'thought-free'. After having "a little spot of the giant killer", he plays the radio all night long, "turned so low he could barely hear it, and he was learning to listen to it without thinking." (*SS*, p. 480). It is in this pathological inertia that Hemingway mirrors the irremediable ruin caused by war. These stories are structurally less cohesive—loose structure being symptomatic of the collapse that they represent—and the style also shows both fitfulness and abruptness. Such stories as "A Natural History of the Dead" or "On the Quai at

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Smyrna'' open a little too abruptly and the human situation which is presented is not strictly well-jointed or logical. The protagonists in them focus upon nothing and the dramatization of their dilemma is what redeems the stories from becoming completely one-dimensional.

Krebs, for instance, in "Soldier's Home", has just returned to his native town after participating in the war. The title itself is ironic in that the place is no longer a 'home' to him. The story provides contrastive glimpses of Krebs before and after the War. The war has turned his life into vegetable existence and he is content "to live without consequences" (SS, p.147). There is little interaction between him and the world. He finds life too complicated. Everything has gone negative including his sexual desire and he rejects girls because they are "too complicated Vaguely he wanted a girl but he did not want to have to work to get her He did not want to get into the intrigue and the politics. He did not want to have to do any courting. He did not want to tell any more lies." (SS. p 147). The dehumanizing influence of the war has made him completely passive and has severed the umbilicus of religion, faith and philosophy, the traditional resources which could help him face the challenge of life.

It is on the basis of Hemingway's preoccupation with the alienated individual and the state of nothingness in which man finds himself in a world devoid of any order that has led several critics to comment on his affinities with existentialism. Colin Wilson,¹³ for example, has identified Krebs with Meursault, the protagonist of Albert Camus' *The Outsider*. However, despite feeble similarities between Krebs and Meursault, Krebs is not an 'absurd hero': he has not deliberately relinquished his choices. The options of Krebs were snatched away because of the disintegration of his personality. For him living is not "Keeping the Absurd Alive."¹⁴

Hemingway's basic concern in his short stories is not in propounding a philosophy. He portrays a world he has known and has a sensitive perception of what a holocaust like the first world war could do to the resources of the human personality. As Scott Donaldson very aptly observes: "... Hemingway was not a philosopher, in his fiction he merely reported on life as he found it."¹⁵ It would be critical fallacy, in any case, to apply a set of philosophical doctrines to works of art without historical evidence and to label Hemingway as an existentialist writer in a philosophical sense would be unfair and

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imprecise. This is not to deny that Hemingway does occasionally adopt some of the known existential attitudes of irreverence and apathy. The parody of the Lord's Prayer by the Old Waiter in "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place" is a case in point.¹⁶

In another set of stories, the moral and spiritual collapse portrayed in the first set is not so complete. The protagonists are temporarily stunned into inertia and feel prostrate only initially. The will to live, however, asserts itself and gradually they are restored to their way of life, bruised but not entirely broken. In "Big Two-Hearted River," for instance, Nick is portrayed as having freshly returned from the war¹⁷ and is trying to hold himself together. Nick is a shadow of his former self and is described as moving in a specter world, full of eeriness. The whole story has an unreal, almost dream-like atmosphere. He moves around in a kind of daze and his actions acquire the statuesque impassivity of rituals through which he hopes to re-discover a part of what has been lost. He is re-adjusting himself to life and this desire in itself shows "how much ground he has (already) regained."¹⁸

In yet another set of stories Hemingway shows himself eager to portray human will in the act of reaffirmation. Santiago, in *The Old Man and the Sea* (Scribner's, 1952) is out to prove "What a man can do and what a man endures." (p. 73). In a world that has become irreparably fragmented, the effective community action to safeguard individual freedoms becomes difficult. It is the lone individual who may occasionally redeem himself in isolated action by a force of will that, temporarily atleast, seems to offset the suffocating grip of an uncongenial environment. After the traumatic experience of the first world war, the Hemingway protagonist chooses sports like hunting, bullfighting and deep-sea fishing to demonstrate the cherished values of courage, endurance, dignity and skill and to reaffirm his faith in himself.

Like certain other writers of his generation, notably Camus, Hemingway does not portray a state of unredeemable sterility. It took a tremendous amount of faith in man, a pride in his heritage that made Hemingway give his characters in fiction a sense of dignity and not invest them with the feckless destiny of the existentialist man. In them human courage and will-to-live dies but temporarily, and as the immediate experience of war recedes into the background,

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Hemingway re-affirms, time and again, that the human spirit shall one day finally assert itself and triumph.

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3. G. Petrovic, "Alienation," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Vol. I (New York : Crowell, Collier and Macmillan, 1967), p. 76.

4. Frank Johnson, "Overview and Introduction," in *Alienation : Concept, Term, and Meanings*, ed. Frank Johnson (New York : Seminar Press, 1973, p. 6.

5. G. Petrovic, p. 76.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

7. Eric Josephson and Mary Josephson, "Introduction," to *Man Alone : Alienation in Modern Society*, ed. Eric and Mary Josephson (New York : Dell, 1962). p. 13.

8. Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society* (New York : Holt, 1955), p. 120. Fromm derives his ideas from Karl Marx. According to Karl Marx as quoted by Fromm, "...man does not experience himself as the acting agent in his grasp of the world, but that the world (nature, others and he himself) remain alien to him. They stand above and against him as objects of his own creation. Alienation is essentially experiencing the world and oneself passively, receptively, as the subject separated from the object." (Quoted in G. Petrovic, p. 78). This can be compared to the definition of the alienated person by Gwynn Nettler ["A Measure of Alienation," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (1957), p. 672], as one "who has been estranged from...his society and the culture it carries."

9. The four forms of alienation described by Karl Marx are :

"the alienation of man from the products of his own activity, the alienation of man from his productive activity itself, the alienation of man from his human essence, and the alienation of man from other men." (G. Petrovic, p. 78).

10. Lewis Feuer ["What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," *Sociology on Trial*, eds. Maurice Stein & Arthur Vidich, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice-Hall, 1963) p. 137], distinguishes six principal modes of alienation, namely, the

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alienation of class society, the alienation of competitive society, the alienation of industrial society, the alienation of mass society, the alienation of race, and the alienation of generations.

11. Melvin Seeman “[On the Meaning of Alienation.” *American Sociological Review*, 24 (1959), pp. 783-791] lists five forms of alienation, namely, powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.
12. Compare I. Tavis’s view [“Changes in the Form of Alienation; The 1900’s vs, the 1950’s” *American Sociological Review*, 34 (1969), pp. 46-47] that “Social alienation in which the individual selves may find a social system in which they live to be oppressive or incompatible with some of their own desires and feel estranged from it; (and) self-alienation in which individual selves may lose contact with any inclinations or desires that are not in agreement with prevailing social patterns, manipulate themselves in accordance with apparent social demands, and/or feel incapable of controlling their own actions.”
13. Colin Wilson, p. 42.
14. Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus*, tr. Justin O’Brien (1942) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 53-54.
15. Scott Donaldson, p. 234.
16. According to John Killinger (p. 15), the word ‘nada’ used in the story is the Spanish term for Nothingness and does recall Unamuno, but this is hardly sufficient to describe Hemingway as an existentialist author.
17. Hemingway stated that “the story is about a boy who has come home badly wounded from the war and yet the war is never mentioned.” (Quoted in Scott Donaldson, p. 245).
18. Leo Gurko, p. 203.

GEORGE SANTAYANA AND THE SENSE OF BEAUTY

Kailash Chandra Baral

The sense of Beauty (1986), by George Santayana (1863—1952), is the single most important philosophical document, in which Santayana appeared first in print as a leading *homme des letters*. This work has been a subject of lively discussion among the critics. Though his later opinions mark a shift of understanding and interpretation of beauty, yet the importance of *The Sense of Beauty*, cannot be underestimated. "Its central thesis is that beauty is the feeling of the pleasure taken in contemplating an object, projected on to it so as to seem a quality of the object itself and not simply our reaction to it. It also discusses the psychological and physiological explanations of the fact that certain objects do and others do not seem beautiful."¹ In addition to the theoretical interpretations, Santayana also emphasised the importance of the experience of the beautiful in one's life. The experience of beauty in one's life signifies a harmony with the environment and in the soul, delivering the man his greatest good and the highest pleasure.

Any attempt to define "beauty" comprehensively remains ever inconclusive. The concept of the beautiful is a matter of unending debate starting from the classical period and coming down to our own times. If we keep apart some independent luminaries in the field of art criticism, the whole gamut of critics, literary theorists and aestheticians could broadly be divided into those constituting the "traditional school" and others who belong to the "modern School". The "traditional school", also designated as the "phenomenonological" school is less concerned with particular problems of critical theory than with discriminating the aesthetic from the moral and cognitive dimensions of human experience. On the other hand, the aestheticians belonging to the so-called modern school put emphasis on psychological interpretation of beauty.

In their attempt to define "beauty", Richards and Ogden bring out sixteen meanings of the term, the last seven of which they have

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categorised as the "psychological views". A look at these definitions by Richards and Ogden reveal that there are genuine theoretical differences between different schools of thought, even if their agreements on some occasions are striking. Santayana has offered a comprehensive definition which seems most adequate in the twentieth century context and is likely to invite very few objections from either of the schools.

"A definition that should really define must be nothing less than the exposition of the origin, place and elements of beauty as an object of human experience. We must learn from it, as far as possible, why, when, and how beauty appears, what conditions an object must fulfil to be beautiful, what elements of our nature make us sensible of beauty and what the relation is between the constitution of the object and excitement of our sensibility"³.

In our normal commonsense view of the world, beauty originates in the objects as a "quality of a thing". Even in Platonic dialogues the term "beauty" is used to refer rather loosely to a wide range of natural objects, artifacts, instrumentations, and ideas. Objects having proportion and shape, Aristotle argued, can be beautiful provided they have "magnitude and order." But Plato's conception of beauty also allows for the aesthetic assessment of things in the spiritual and supersensible world. Santayana as an objective realist disapproves of Plato. To him Plato being "an artist by temperament" made a relative error considering art without having any "character and affairs". In Santayana's words : "as an architect who has fondly designed something impossible, or which might not please in execution, would at once erase it from the plan and abandon it for the love of perfect beauty and perfect art, so Plato wished to erase from pleasing appearance all that, when its operation was completed, would bring discord into the word."⁴ However, Santayana's objects of beauty remain purely physical. "It is absurd to say that what is invisible to a given being ought to seem beautiful to him."⁵ An object is beautiful in itself and when perceived provides us pleasure can be regarded as the basic tenet of the beautiful. "The beautiful in itself is an essence, an indefinable quality felt in many things which, however disparate they may be otherwise receive this name by virtue of a special emotion, half-wonder, half-love, which is felt in their presence."⁶ Beauty then is a value and like all other

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values exists only for living creatures with particular senses, impulses and interests.

The object of art remains uniform in itself, but varies in its response to human attraction. "Everything is beautiful because everything is capable in some degree of interesting and charming our attention, but things differ immensely in this capacity to please us in the contemplation of them and therefore they differ immensely in beauty."⁷ Difference, instead of similarity, is an important characteristic of things being beautiful. Had there been no difference either in the object itself or in their response to induce pleasure in man, then "like substance beauty would be everywhere one and the same and any preference of one thing to another would be a proof of finitude and illusion."⁸ The supposed "Universality" in art as believed by Kant and accepted by others proves to be inaccurate. In the words of Kant: "The beautiful is that with apart from concepts is represented as the object of a universal delight."⁹ Santayana counters this "universality" doctrine of Kant through the exploration of human nature. To accept Kant, Santayana has pointed out, "would amount to making the perception of beauty a judgement rather than a sensation."¹⁰ Santayana has given a simple instance to explain the complete problem that no object looks equally beautiful to two persons. An agreement in perception or judgement of beauty is only possible, "upon the similarity of origin, nature and circumstances, a similarity which where it exists, tends to bring about identity in all judgements and feelings."¹¹ Uniformity in taste and feeling of the perceived object at any reckoning is impossible as our aesthetic sensibility is unevenly distributed and our nature incompatible. "In proportion as art becomes purer", according to Roger Fry, "the number of people to whom it appeals gets less...it appeals only to the aesthetic sensibility and that in most men is comparatively weak."¹² The response of the beautiful presented to human experience is relative. "All things are not equally beautiful because of the subjective bias that discriminates between them is the cause of their being beautiful at all. The principle of personal preference is the same as that of human taste, real and objective beauty, in contrast to a vagary of individuals, means only an affinity to a more prevalent and lasting susceptibility, a response to more general and fundamental demand. And the keener discrimination by which the distance between beautiful and

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ugly things is increased far from being a loss of aesthetic insight, is a development of that faculty by the exercise of which beauty comes into the world."¹³

Santayana shares the opinion of Kant in the context of "taste". The judgement of "taste" according to Kant "is not cognitive judgement and so not logical but is aesthetic which means that it is one whose determining ground cannot be other than subjective."¹⁴ However, Santayana feels that lower senses such as "touch", "taste" and "smell" lack the capacity to combine into large works of art as sound and visual materials can. The perceptory and the auditory faculties remain the main source of induction of the sense of beauty into human experience.

The pivotal point of Santayana's discussion of beauty is the pleasure principle. "Anything beautiful must be pleasurable." "Beauty cannot be considered semitranscendental reality", according to T. Hirn, "it must be interpreted as an object of human longing and source of human enjoyment."¹⁵ Perception of the beautiful is an objectification of the observer's emotion. Though, we insist upon beauty as the quality of a thing, the feeling of it, really is a pleasure within us. "This objectification of our feelings in *The Sense of Beauty*" is a survival of an animistic and mythological habit, thought once, quite universal as with primitive man but now banished from the world of pure science . . . where mechanical science has influenced our thinking."¹⁶ "Animal faith" constitutes the key concept in Santayana's system of philosophy. The mythic view of art is anthropological and offers a broader dimension to the understanding and analysis of art. Santayana believes that satisfaction is what immediately appears to consciousness to be both beautiful in itself and good as a means. I. A. Richards indicts Santayana's animalistic view of art and has "asked readers to purge their critical thinking of all such animalistic habits as cause us to make unwarranted connections between our inner feelings and the nature of objective reality."¹⁷ To Santayana the "emotional reaction" is meant for immediate satisfaction; on the other hand, Richards differentiates between "emotional intensity" and "valuable emotional experience" as indices of the aesthetic and intellectual responses of the observer.

"Art liberates the medium." Significant form in art is important and it organises the elements (according to Santayana, sensuous ele-

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ments), into the aggregation of a beautiful object. Otherwise the constituents of any object individually carry very little or no value at all. "No expression is possible without a presentation and this presentation must have a form," says Santayana. Perception of form in art originates within the limits of psychology on consciousness and tends to adopt an account of meaning in terms of sensory datum and associated image. Santayana does not make himself a party in the dispute of the "formalists" and the "representationalists." He has taken his stand in naturalism. According to Santayana, there are two independent sources of effects in the works of art. The first is the "useful form," the second is the "beauty of ornament." The evolution of "useful form" is historically important as being the source of art forms. Later on, the ornamental beauty has capitalized out of lavish imagination by colour or by delicacy of detail. "We may thus oscillate between decorative and structural motives and only in one point, for each style can we find the ideal equilibrium, in which the greatest strength and lucidity is combined with the greatest splendour."¹⁸ Santayana shares the opinion of John Dewey that "the expressive inclines to the side of meaning and the decorative to that of sense."¹⁹ It is generally understood that there exist relative motives in art. Santayana takes exception to this by saying that though there is a kind of utilitarian response to useful form, yet, "the beautiful does not depend on the useful, it is constituted by imagination, ignorance and contempt of practical advantage, but it is not independent of the necessary, for the necessary must also be the habitual and consequently the basis of the type and all its imaginative variation."²⁰ To Santayana, the art cannot be considered utilitarian as one understands the term in its usual ordinary sense. Art forms externalize our structural and decorative motives. Sometimes art forms emerge in imitation of natural types (i.e. humanised art forms, House, Temple etc.) and human response to them is a matter of habit. On the other hand, at a highly contemplative moment the sense of beauty substitutes our routine responses to art for "intuition." Santayana appreciating Aristotle says that "both Aristotelean sensation and Aristotelean intellect in fact are moments of immediate experience, yielding an essence to intuition, and both when considered by the naturalist outside may realise in intuition the qualities or forms actually possessed by external things."²¹ Certainly a work of art is, not less momentous, when it is realised either by "intuition" or "contemplation" or when it is produced either by "imitation" or "imagination" because of its form and the issues it manifests.

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Art forms can further be classified as "imitative" and "non-imitative". Non-imitative art supplies organisms different in kind from those nature affords. To both Plato and Aristotle the nature of art was "imitative" only. Plato distinguished between the poet (or maker), the model (or object of imitation) and the imitation (or construction) to explain the principle of his physics and aesthetics. But to Aristotle those principles are the means for differentiating the artificial from the natural objects. Santayana considers the theory of "imitation" in a wider perspective. "Imitation" to him like sensibility, remoulds a given being, so that it becomes in certain formal respects like another being in its environment. "It is a response and an index by which note is taken of a situation or its possible development."²² Santayana differs from Aristotle on the concept of "objective copying" of nature. As situations of imitation vary and the intent of imitation is purely individual, "imitation" on any rational consideration can not result in a literal repetition of the object it suggests. "The imitation", as Santayana puts it, "though akin to what it imitates and reproducing it, lies in different medium and accordingly has a specific individuality and specific effects. Imitation is far more than similarity, nor does its ideal function lie in bringing a flat and unmeaning similarity [about, it has a representative and intellectual value, because in reproducing the forms of things, it reproduces them in a fresh substance, in a new purpose."²³ The product of imitation manifests itself in a new reality.

"Design" and "Pattern", in art are two compositional variations. The function of design is to avoid monotony and aesthetic fatigue. Design gives room to aesthetic contrast and encourages a kind of thematic repetition without loss of interest. Nature works as a purely decorative designer. Architecture, pottery, etc., are formal designs which do not depend on natural forms. Designs add more delight to the form and makes it sublimated, whether it is natural or abstract. The compositional function of "Pattern" is to avoid confusion. Aesthetic order depends entirely on the principle of "pattern", which is not a mathematical order. What Santayana calls "type" is another such mode of aesthetic organization in form. Types which are produced as a result of learning, may be said to be concepts that men have developed in making adjustments to their social and physical environments. Among all those types, the "natural types" are important as they allow a person to recognise the types of objects and features of his environment. A "type" may be described as the psychological

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concept of a group of features recognizable as a whole, when presented for attention. The importance of "type" lies in its organising power, in acquired patterns of connected elements, that can give unity to a work of art.

In a discussion of the aesthetic function of language, one pertinent question arises : if the aesthetic object is purely sensuous, can language be capable of creating artforms, while it is not purely sensuous ? Santayana recognises this contradiction. According to him, language is a "symbol of intelligence" rather than "a stimulus to senses".²⁴ But he also admits that "form in words" is aesthetically significant, because it deals with the awareness of realities in the representational forms of poems, dramas and novels, etc.. Language as a symbol for intelligence is an instrument in dealing with things other than the symbols themselves, with a world vastly transcending the scope of immediate attention. The formal aspect of language is aesthetically significant in two different ways : its internal structure allows the development of the musical and rhetorical effects and its affinity to things enables the writer, the dramatist in particular, to present by means of a plot the nature of human experience. Poetry, drama, and fiction are fine arts, therefore aesthetic objects par excellence. A significant literary form couches in itself the story of human experience and gives shape to human imagination through proper arrangement of words.

Expression in art is significant as it constitutes the aesthetics of meaning. According to Tolstoy, expression is purely a human activity. It stimulates the aesthetic sensibility of the artist and also imparts pleasure to the reader. "Art is a human activity", says Tolstoy, "consisting in this, that man consciously by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, that others are infected by these feelings and also experience them."²⁵ The richness in expression makes the artistic intention more meaningful. "Expression like construction signifies both actions and its results."²⁶ The artist wishes to create an achievable perfection though it has its obvious limitations. "The nature of our materials be the words, colours or plastic representation—imposes a limit and bias upon our expression."²⁷ Poet as "musicians" masters of significant language in harmony have more aesthetic effect through words in comparison to poets as "psychologists", those who gain the effect not by the intrinsic mastery of the language but by a closer adaptation to things. Santayana has advocated for a richer poetic diction and regrets that "our modern languages are not

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susceptible to great formal beauty.”²⁸ Santayana speaks bitterly about the ineptitude of our present day language and the self-indulgent nature of our expression. Distinguishing the richness and simplicity of Greek Language, Santayana appreciates it as the source of orderly thought and profound expression. Like Kant, Santayana has insisted on “purposiveness” in any “expression of art” in order not to be imprecise in suggesting an idea inadequately expressed.

Like Richards and Burke, Santayana firmly believes, that naturalistic psychology is the starting point in aesthetic analysis. “The arts like the whole of life, have an ideal development as well as a natural basis and ideally the arts would be concerned with the embodiment of beauty.”²⁹ The experience of art can be distinguished from the other areas of experience such as religion and science. To Santayana, “art like life should be free since both are experimental.” Art being a part of life serves as an “equipment for living.” Though sometimes his analysis is not adequate, yet in his humility Santayana never assumes that his opinion is conclusive. To him the sense of beauty is a source of philosophic endeavour and a medium for liberating life.

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SHERWOOD'S *THE ROAD TO ROME* : A MARXIST PLAY BY A NON-MARXIAN PLAY- WRIGHT IN THE TWENTIES

Kshamanidhi Mishra

Robert E. Sherwood was one of the most highly esteemed playwrights of the 1930's who had tried his hand at melodrama, comedy and biographical drama and achieved a measure of prominence largely because of his strong historical interest. Neither a Fascist nor a Communist, he was a fluent and fearless spokesman of democratic faith. He was a fiercely militant liberal who was against dictatorship and injustice anywhere. He hated murder, persecution, censorship, not only when they are committed by Nazis, but also when they are committed by Utopians. A pacifist to the core, he was against war and was obviously against Fascism and Nazism which were responsible for war.

The effect of war upon Sherwood was profound. Returning gassed and wounded from the First World War, he developed an intense aversion to war and became "internationally-minded." He was convinced that future wars could be avoided by the elimination of excessive nationalism and was at first enthusiastic about the League of Nations. His pacifist philosophy found its way into his plays, such as *The Road to Rome*, *Waterloo Bridge* and *Idiot's Delight*.

Sherwood's vivid historical interest appears in his very first play, *The Road to Rome*, produced on January 17, 1927. The play treats a section of classical Roman history in a modernistic way, inspired not merely by the intense abhorrence of war but also by the sentimental assumptions that wars are caused by stupid individual heroics and can be avoided by common sense. "It employs the cheapest sort of device—making historical characters use modern slang", Sherwood admitted in the forties.¹ It has been constantly compared to Shaw's play which has modern themes in classical settings. Eleanor Flexner has rightly pointed out : "The Revival of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* several seasons before, the fad for historical novels couched in an irreverent modern idiom, had paved the way for a similar development in the theatre of which *The Road to Rome*, in 1927, was the first

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successful native example''². With its highly successful run of 440 performances, the play made theatre history as the smash hit of 1927.

In his Preface to *There Shall Be No Night*, Sherwood gives a revealing comment on *The Road to Rome*: "When I wrote *The Road to Rome*, I didn't know what sort of playwright I might be, provided I might be a playwright at all. So I tried it in every style of drama-turgy—high comedy, low comedy, melodrama, romance (both sacred and profane), hard-boiled realism, beautiful writing—and, of course, I inserted a 'message'. That message was that I was opposed to war".³ This revelation shows genuine tendentiousness on the part of Sherwood who is here ideologically opposed to war.

As Sherwood himself has admitted that he has used "hard-boiled realism" in *The Road to Rome*, the play obviously follows a realistic style. According to Marx and Engels, "Realism . . . implies, besides truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances."⁴ Marx and Engels' realism includes truthfulness of depiction, a concrete historical approach to events described, characters with typical individual traits and the nature of the class milieu to which they belong.

As a realistic play, *The Road to Rome* satisfies all the conditions of realism prescribed by Marx and Engels. Both the characterisation and the plot construction are well organised in the play. In addition to the main characters—Amytis, Hannibal, and Fabius—who are obviously presented as types, the supporting characters are also well drawn in order to give strength and dimension to the production. Though Hannibal, who proclaims that "For ten years I've followed the road that leads to Rome,"⁵ justifies the title of *The Road to Rome*, the play belongs primarily to Amytis and secondarily to him.

Amytis being the protagonist, the plot construction is accordingly devised. The first act takes place at Fabius's home in a threatened Rome. Fabius, the husband of Amytis, has just been proclaimed the dictator of Rome, as a war time measure. The "Roman army has suffered a terrible defeat" at the battle of Cannae and "Hannibal is at the gates of Rome", certain to attack and certain to conquer (p. 305). At the face of danger Amytis decides to flee to Ostia to join her mother and takes her two Sicilian slaves with her. As she herself admits in Act II, "I had no intention of going to visit my mother. That was just

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an excuse" (p. 318), her intention has been to meet Hannibal who is described as a superman and to learn the secret of his power. The second and third acts obviously take place at Hannibal's camp where Amytis tempts Hannibal to spend the night with her and tries to convince him of the futility of his wars. By persuading Hannibal to take her rather than Rome, she at last saves Rome from destruction.

Fabius, "a typical Senator—pompous, unctuous, consciously important" (p. 297), believes in conventional propriety. Presently at the head of the Roman state, he does not appreciate his wife's frivolousness and expects her to be a model of all the more desirable virtues, such as "respectability, modesty, economy, devotion to duty, reverence, chastity, and . . . and . . ." (p. 301). A "100 per cent Roman" (p. 297), Fabius displays a strong sense of nationalism, showing his "faith in the glorious destiny of Rome" (p. 302). He voices the principle of a Fascist state, "No state can survive unless it is founded on good, sound military strength and a policy of progressive conquest" (p. 299), and expresses his strong desire to pursue the Roman policy of territorial expansion. At the face of Carthaginian menace, he bombastically declares to conquer Hannibal so that he would be accorded some measure of recognition in history. Here Fabius anticipates Mussolini who was keen on establishing a new empire in order to revive Italy's past glory.

Interestingly born of an Athenian mother and a Roman father, Amytis has grown internationally-minded and offers a sharp contrast to her husband who propagates excessive nationalism. She is above the narrow-mindedness of her husband and mother-in-law and appreciates Hannibal, the arch-enemy of Rome, as a "thoroughly commendable person" (p. 302) and Carthage as "a very beautiful city" (p. 300). This is precisely the reason why she is not prepared to die with her husband and mother-in-law who claim excessive loyalty to Rome. When branded by her mother-in-law as "a heartless soulless traitor", Amytis tries to justify her stand: "I may be a traitor to Rome, but am not a traitor to my own convictions. I didn't start this war. I've never given it my support or encouragement. I have no axe to grind with Hannibal. Why should I sacrifice my life merely because the Roman army has failed to subdue a weaker enemy?" (p. 307). In the modern context, if Fabius is a Fascist, Amytis is obviously a Marxist.

Typically a realist, Amytis presents a rationalistic view of life and

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its situations. Her method of argumentation is unique in the sense that she makes argument almost impossible. In resorting to her technique of reasoning, she tries to dominate the action of the entire play. A true Marxist by temperament, she pays no homage to the gods of Rome or Athens. When Hannibal scornfully asks her whether the gods are afraid of the truth, she logically affirms : "Of course, they are; and they don't want us mortals to be too intimate with it. When we know the truth, we can't know fear—and without fear, there can be no gods" (p. 320). Hannibal finds it almost impossible to reason with Amytis :

Hannibal : Mago was right, Amytis—you're dangerous.

Amytis : That's what they said of me in Rome. But it isn't so. I'm not dangerous. I'm only real.

Hannibal : You might be dangerous to me.

Amytis : Because you're afraid I might make you real. (p. 320)

As a realist, she is not only a contrast to her husband but also to Hannibal who is a visionary, a dreamer. To Hannibal's bombastic assertion that it is Baal who has instructed him to pursue his conquest of Rome till his destruction, Amytis instantly retorts :

That wasn't the voice of Baal, Hannibal. That was the voice of the shopkeepers in Carthage, who are afraid that Rome will interfere with their trade (p. 321)

Here Amytis offers a Marxist interpretation of the cause of war—it is not God but the bourgeois shopkeepers' expansionist motive to reap high profits and to conquer territories to develop new markets that is responsible for war.

The Road to Rome is Sherwood's first sustained public anti-war statement and Amytis is his real spokesman. Through Amytis he has been trying to show the futility of battle and how every sacrifice made in the name of war is wasted. Amytis's first pacifist statement comes in Act-I, when before her departure from Rome she suggests that Fabius and his senators should try to reason with Hannibal under the flag of truce. As the action develops, she asks Hannibal the most pertinent question, "Why have you done it? . . . fighting wars, winning battles . . . why?" (pp. 318-19). Gradually she tries to impress upon the great conqueror that all these ten years he has only

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been wasting his time. Her reasoning against war is forceful and convincing :

Perhaps, some day, you'll realize that there's a thing called the human equation. It's so much more beautiful than war If you could ever find it, you'd know that all your conquests—all your glory—are only whispers in the infinite stillness of time—that Rome is no more than a tiny speck on the face of eternity—that the gods are the false images of the unimaginative . . . and then you'll wish that all that you've done could be undone. (p. 323)

It is not that Amytis fails in her mission, rather she makes Hannibal realise "the glory of submission" (p. 329) that results in his ultimate retreat from Rome. As the play nears its end, Hannibal's actions prove that he has grown in his understanding of what is called "the human equation" which is exemplified in his kind act of turning Amytis back to her husband in such a way that her association with the enemy remains a secret to them.

Marx and Engels believe that the modern bourgeois world is not a favourable soil for art : "Capitalist production is hostile to certain branches of spiritual production, for example, art and poetry".⁶ In accordance with the Marxian theory, Sherwood has shown in *The Road to Rome* that the success worship of the Romans was not conducive to aesthetic refinements. Their indifference to aesthetic pleasure reveals their narrow-mindedness and is sharply contrasted with the love of art and beauty of the Greeks. Having inherited more of her mother's virtues, Amytis represents the Greeks, whereas her husband and mother-in-law stand for the Romans. A real worshipper of beauty, Amytis has purchased some of the "most fascinating" dresses from a merchant from Antioch. But Fabius is too indifferent to appreciate their beauty and glamour; on the other hand, he reveals his bourgeois mentality by asking Amytis whether "it's quite the sort of thing to be worn by a lady of your position ?" (p. 299). His hostility to art is clearly revealed when Amytis asks him to go to the theatre to see *Oedipus Rex* : "To tell you the truth, Amytis, I've never seen the play—but I've heard that it's—well, that it's rather questionable" (p. 300). Fabius's mother, who calls *Oedipus Rex* "probably one of the coarsest plays ever written !" (p. 300), echoes her son's conservatism and confirms her own bourgeois attitude.

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To Sherwood, *The Road to Rome* was an oblique attack on America of the 1920's. As he himself has acknowledged, "The representation of Rome itself, as it existed under the republic, is not unjustifiable, for the spirit of Fabius Maximus and his brother boosters has become the spirit of America today. History is full of deadly and disturbing parallels and this, it seems to me, is one of the most obvious parallels of all".⁷ Here Sherwood refers to an obvious parallel between the success worship of ancient Rome and Coolidge's America. Amytis's thesis, which has been confirmed by Hannibal that the success motive of Rome will make Rome destroy itself, anticipates the Marxian theory that Capitalism digs the graves of its own destruction.⁸

The subplot involving Amytis's Sicilian slaves, Meta and Varius, presents the significant anti-slavery theme developed by Sherwood. The two slaves have been in love since their childhood, but the stringent Roman law does not allow slaves to marry. This makes Varius "supremely contemptuous of his Roman masters, and inclined to be rebellious" (p. 296). He obviously wants to escape with Meta from this hostile atmosphere and Amytis, who has a warm humanity about her, comes to their rescue. Amytis not only gives her moral support to help them, but also prevails upon Hannibal to release the two and send them to their native place, Sicily, where they will be free to marry. Thus, Sherwood brings the question of racial discrimination to a logical conclusion.

Coming to the technique part of the play, Sherwood, in his stage direction in Act II, describes: "Strict realism and logic may be sacrificed for purposes of dramatic effectiveness in this scene. The barbaric splendor of Carthage itself must be reflected in all the trappings in this distant camp" (p. 309). Towards the end of this act Sherwood uses a psychological device to show the final submission of Hannibal to Amytis's charm. As Hannibal raises his dagger higher to stab Amytis in the heart, "she clings desperately to his arms". Hannibal cries, "You're going to die!" Amytis responds, "Yes—I'm going to die but not until tomorrow (Her face is close to his—too close. He kisses her.)" (p. 323). This psychological device, in fact, wins the day for Amytis.

In *The Road to Rome*, Sherwood resolves the problems by having words win over force. This prompts Eleanor Flexner to comment: "Hannibal, the man of force and action, is stripped, emasculated, becomes the victim of abstract ideas. Later his heroes become

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so attenuated that action is foreign even to their past. Hannibal's submission to Amytis is the first step on the road to the futility of Alan Squire and Harry Van."⁹ The tendentiousness of Sherwood is precisely clear. Through this play he preaches the basic pacifist philosophy that future wars and global conflicts can safely be avoided by thorough reasoning, deliberation, and negotiations between the contending powers. This anti-war theme which germinates in *The Road to Rome* develops through *Waterloo Bridge* (1930) to reach its climax in *Idiot's Delight* (1936). To my mind, *The Road to Rome* is perhaps the best Marxist play written by a non-Marxian author in the thirties

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HAMLET'S EXISTENTIAL NEUROSIS

Sunil Kumar Sarkar

Critics generally agree that Hamlet's madness is but feigning, and that he acted according to his programme that he confided to Horatio in the very first Act : "As I perchance hereafter shall think meet/to put an antic disposition on" But Edwin Booth hazards a different opinion : " . . . Hamlet was really the victim of the mental disease he claims to be simulating; in other words, his pretence was pretended, aruse of madman's cunning."¹ And Bradley has concurrence (*vide infra*). In this paper an attempt has been made to prove that Hamlet has really become mad and that the nomenclature of the disease, which Bradley avoided, is existential neurosis.

The words mad, madness and lunacy all having the same import—are used in the play thirty to forty times; sometimes indicating real madness, sometimes feigned. However, perhaps, we can arrive at the right conclusion if we follow two courses. One, we can observe Hamlet through the eyes of the other characters with whom Hamlet comes into intercourse. And two, we can peep deep into the depth of Hamlet's own self with the help of Hamlet's own eyes. Besides his determination "To put an antic disposition" there is no question of Hamlet's madness in the whole of the first Act, and only from the second Act through the fifth it is a problematic.

Hamlet is a play with a huge number of *dramatis personae* : 17 named characters, one gentleman, one priest, one Norwegian Captain, two clowns, one ghost, a number of Players, English Ambassadors, Lords, Ladies, officers, soldiers, messengers and attendants. Of all these only Polonius, Ophelia, the King (Claudius), the Queen (Gertrude) and one clown once or more than once say that Hamlet is mad. On the other hand, only once the King has expressed his doubt about Hamlet's madness. Guildenstern, the courtier, merely expressed his doubt about Hamlet's madness. And though Claudius, the crafty king, left no stone unturned to publish the dementia of Hamlet, yet we do not find any more characters talking about Hamlet's madness. This is the mysterious situation pervading the whole of Denmark, particularly

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the purple luminosity of the palace. And this is why critics have so far held divergent opinions about Hamlet's madness.

However, before deciding upon the controversy, let us first observe both sides of the coin: one, Hamlet is mad; and two, Hamlet is feigning madness.

Hamlet is mad: Before the second Act we do not find any one suspect Hamlet to be mad. In the very first scene of the second Act, it is Ophelia who is afraid that Hamlet is mad: "But truly I do fear it". Ophelia gives her father a word-picture of the distraught Hamlet accosting herself while she was sewing in her closet. Polonius enquired of her: "Mad for thy love?" Ophelia replied: "My lord, I do not know,/But truly I do fear it." Ophelia appraised her father about how Hamlet behaved discourteously with her and that she "did repel his letters" and Polonius thereupon concluded: "That hath made him mad." (II, i, 110). At the beginning of Sc. ii, Act II, Polonius tells the king that he has 'found/ The very cause of Hamlet's lunacy.' The very next moment, in the same scene, he (Polonius) also tells the Queen that her "noble son is mad." The Queen refuses to take Polonius' words at face value. She urges him: "More matter with less art" and Polonius asseverates: "That he's mad, 'tis true: 'tis true 'tis pity;/ And pity 'tis 'tis true." (II, ii, 97-98). In the same long speech, Polonius once again importunes the Queen: "Mad let us grant him," (II, ii, 100). Polonius now tells the king the cause of Hamlet's lunacy. He tells Ophelia that "Lord Hamlet is a prince out of thy stars;" and so he advised her to "lock herself from his resort" which the docile maid obeyed. Polonius again tells the King that Hamlet "Fell into a sadness, then into a fast,/ Then to a watch, thence into a weakness,/ Thence to a lightness, and, by this declension,/ Into the madness" (II, ii). And after this we never hear Polonius speak of the madness of Hamlet. So we can say that Ophelia and the wordly-wise Polonius certainly know Hamlet to be mad. However, only once does Polonius doubt the lunacy of Hamlet: "Though this be madness, yet there is method in't." (II, ii, 203-4). Critics who say that Hamlet's lunacy is really feigning find one more support here—that there is method (normalcy) in his madness, which means that Hamlet is not really or pathologically mad. But in the very next line, Polonius says that even madness can sometimes work better than reason and sanity.

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Next, let us see how the King perceives Hamlet. Even before being assured by Polonius about Hamlet's madness, the crafty Claudius asks Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to find out the cause of Hamlet's "transformation" "Sith nor th' exterior nor the inward man/ Resembles that it was." (II, ii, 6-7). The first scene of the third Act, opens with the King's speech about Hamlet's lunacy. In II, ii, the King entreated Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to find out "whether aught to us unknown afflicts him [Hamlet] thus." Again in III, i, he asks the same two courtiers to gather the cause of Hamlet's "dangerous lunacy." In the last line of the scene, the King says : "Madness in great ones must not go unwatched." The King opens III, iii with the words : "I like him [Hamlet] not; nor stands it safe with us/ To let his madness range." In IV, i, the King points to Hamlet as "This mad young man". So conviction about Hamlet's madness dawns upon him. In the same scene, after Polonius is slain by Hamlet the King cries out : "Hamlet in madness hath Polonius slain." In V, i, for the last time the King assures Laertes : "O, he is mad, Laertes." So we find that the King has been progressively moving towards the conviction that Hamlet is mad. Only once he has some doubt about it. In III, i, the King says : "Nor what he spake, though it lack'd form a little,/ Was not like madness." But after III, i, the King shows no doubt about Hamlet's madness.

Let us now get the opinion of the Queen. In III, i, she treats Hamlet's behaviour as 'wildness'. But in III, iv, (the Queen's closet), she betrays no doubt about Hamlet's madness : "Alas, he's mad." In the same scene, the Queen observes Hamlet talk to the invisible ghost and tells him : "This is the very coinage of your brain./ This bodiless creation ecstasy/ Is very cunning in." Ecstasy here means madness which Hamlet forthwith challenges : "My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time," In IV, i, when the King enquires about the condition of Hamlet, the Queen replies : "Mad as the sea and wind, when both contend/ Which is the mightier." She tells the King that Hamlet's "very madness" was the cause of Hamlet's killing Polonius. In V, i, the Queen observes Hamlet ranting and comments : "This is mere madness." However, unlike the King or Polonius, the Queen never doubts the madness of Hamlet.

In V, i, 1st Clown knows Hamlet to be mad. Again, at the beginning of III, i, Rosencrantz says that Hamlet "does confess he feels himself distracted." In the same scene, Hamlet confesses to Ophelia

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that hypocrisy ("God hath given you one face, and you make yourself another.") "hath made me mad." In the last scene of the play (V, ii), Hamlet begs pardon of Laertes (in the grave-diggers' scene). He says it was not he but his 'madness' that did offend Laertes and says that "His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy."

Hamlet is not mad : At several places Hamlet, in very strong words, repudiates the charge that he is mad. In I, v, he declares that henceforth he shall "put an antic disposition on." In II, ii, he challenges his mother's contention that he is mad. Hamlet says : "I am but mad north-north-west; when the wind is southerly I know a hawk from a handsaw." In II, ii, Hamlet bethinks about the Play within *Hamlet* and innuendoes to his secret design : "What would he do,/ Had he the motive and the cue for passion/ That I have ?" Here feigning is evident. In III, iv, also he says that his madness is but feigning : "That essentially I am not in madness/ But mad in craft." Guildenstern, in III, i, knows the mental aberation of Hamlet to be "crafty madness". Moreover, the King himself once doubts the genuineness of Hamlet's madness and says that it "Was not like madness."

So we find that after Act III, nobody doubts the lunacy of Hamlet. All doubts are expressed by different characters only upto the fourth scene of the third Act. Moreover, after this Hamlet also does not say that he feigns. Pertinently, therefore, we can say that after Act III, Hamlet has really become mad.

Now, let us look at the neuropathology of Hamlet :

- (i) The oetiology of Hamlet's madness partially lies in his being of a delicate and highly imaginative mental make-up, and that during his eidesis. Horatio says that Hamlet "waxes desperate with imagination." (I, iv).
- (ii) Hamlet's demeanour with Ophelia during his so-called "feigned madness" betrays rankness incompatible with Hamlet's nature. Even if he actually feigns, he could do it without becoming so low.
- (iii) No youth of Hamlet's purple up-bringing can procrastinate in carrying out the execution of his uncle. Scepticism about the perpetrator cannot be the reason of his procrastination. He is certainly above doubt even in the very first scene of

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the first Act when he converses with the apparition :

Hamlet : Murder !

Ghost : Murder most foul,

Hamlet : O my prophetic soul !

My uncle !

And then he resolves about his future course of action : "I have sworn't." (I, v). Why then the delay, the "lack of advancement ?" Such extreme lack of resolution indicates his neurosis. Alexander and Selesnick, in their *The History of Psychiatry*, say that Hamlet's hesitation arrogates his neurosis : "Hamlet, [For instance], is, in modern terms, a compulsive personality [We do not agree with this nomenclature — SKS], accurately and completely portrayed. The unconscious reason for Hamlet's compulsive hesitation is taking revenge on his uncle — namely his Oedipus complex — is unmistakably indicated in the text."²

- (iv) At the tenebrous close of the drama, Hamlet, inspite of the heinous unfaithfulness of his uncle-father, does not inspect the foils before the swashbuckling. Extremely wary with "unusual quickness of perception"³ elsewhere, Hamlet moves like a village natural here. Moreover, in the heap of his dejected agonies, he is expected not to throw the gauntlet. But he does. This apparently incoherent fact was ignored by critics. Actually what happens in the last Act of *Hamlet* is that the neurotic prince is exasperated to the point of self-destruction : if he cannot kill his uncle, he will kill himself. And actually Hamlet commits a neurotic's suicide : "Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd/ His canon 'gainst self-slaughter !" (I, ii).

Now, if the diagnosis be neurosis, what sort of neurosis is it ? Before we come to this point, we should keep in mind Shakespeare's limitations respecting the knowledge of psychiatry, a subject of recent birth. Nevertheless, we can diagnose Hamlet's derangement as a clear case of "existential neurosis", a term of Existential psychiatry.

Existential psychiatry derived many of its concepts from the writings of the German philosopher Martin Heidegger who was a pupil of Edmund Husserl (1859—1938). Meddard Boss, Gustav Bally and

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Ludwig Binswanger of Switzerland; Rollo May and R. D. Laing of the USA; and Jean Paul Sartre of France are prominent existentialist thinkers. Among them, Laing is considered radical because of his rejection altogether of the concept of psychosis. He considers the abnormal and the normal to be of the same like, the former having only more or less a wrong perspective of the reality——a perspective only not shared by the majority. His conception of normality is revolutionary: "By the time the new human being is 15 or so, we are left with a being like ourselves, a half-crazed creature more or less adjusted to a mad world. This is normality"⁴. (One may be reminded here of what Coleridge once said: "Every being having the power of understanding must be mad"). For existentialism, existence is prior to essence, and this essence is created by our choices as Sartre put it: "I am my choices." But choice depends on meaning, value and obligation. "A central theme in the existential model is the will-to-meaning. This is considered a basic human characteristic and is primarily a matter of finding satisfying values and guiding one's life by them"⁵. These values may be bestowed by the accepted value-structure of the society or the individual may choose his own values. But in either case, the values are arbitrary, idiosyncratic. There is no ultimate and fixed value structure. The individual is free to choose his own values, and so he is free but helpless. Therefore, he enjoys glory but suffers agony. A final existential theme that adds an urgent and painful note to the human situation is that of non-being or *nothingness*. In the ultimate form it is death which is the inescapable fate of all human beings. "It is this awareness of our inevitable death and its implications for our living that lead to *existential anxiety*——to deep concern over whether we are living a meaningful and fulfilling life."⁶

In the contemporary current of existential thinking, Ludwig Binswanger is a bold step forward. His *Daseinsanalyse*, he submits, is complementary to Freud's psychoanalysis. But it is too modest of him; *Daseinsanalyse* is a completely new approach to the human situation. Like the Field theory of Kurt Lewin, *Daseinsanalyse* conceives of the human posited within a world constructed by himself (being-in-the-world and not simply Being)——a world of meaning, the grand meaning-context. Binswanger says: "This grand meaning-context is the Existential A Priori."⁷. According to Binswanger, when this A Priori breaks down in a traumatic experience, an individual becomes existentially neurotic, "for *Daseinsanalyse*, a traumatic experience is one in which the meaning of the individual of an event contradicts or,

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'goes beyond' the transcendental experiential horizon; that is, the Existential A Priori makes possible an experience that leads to its own negation."⁸ Binswanger admits of only *one* Existential A Priori and not many. "The one Existential A Priori [thus] governs all experience——down to the most immediate;....."⁹ It infuses everything with a meaning so much so that, "What we perceive are 'first and foremost' not impressions of taste, tone, smell or touch, not even things or objects, but rather, meanings."¹⁰ When this one Existential A Priori is negated or destroyed, the whole personality is threatened and the individual reveals neurotic syndrome.

The one Existential A Priori in Hamlet is his faith——faith in his mother's love for him, faith in Ophelia's love for him, faith in the honesty of his uncle and in the up-rightness in the whole of Denmark. This fundamental faith of his is suddenly crushed and pounded by the treachery of his uncle and his mother. Hamlet's Existential A Priori is detonated, shattered. Overnight, the whole of Denmark becomes stale and rotten. Hamlet's value-contextual universe dwindles down and so he finds no frame-of-reference for his choices of actions. He doubts, hesitates, procrastinates. He stands agape. Life becomes a meaningless state of affairs for him. And ultimately, Hamlet almost voluntarily encounters death or nothingness. (Otherwise why should he agree to the duel?) Bradley approached this position in *Hamlet* : "Suppose that violent shock to his moral being of which I spoke; and suppose that under this shock, any possible action being denied to him, he began to sink into melancholy; then, no doubt, his imaginative and generalizing habit of mind might extend the effect of this shock through his whole being and mental world.....Thus the speculative habit would be *one* indirect cause of the morbid state which hindered action; and it would also appear in degenerate form as one of the symptoms of this morbid state."¹¹ The existential therapists "consider that the individual's freedom confronts him with the responsibility for *being*.... for deciding what kind of person to become, for establishing his values, and for actualising his potentialities as human being."¹² Hamlet is also free and he feels the weight of his moral responsibility of establishing the value that he believed in so far. But he fails to actualize his potentialities as human being. He fails in his project :

The time is out of joint, O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right : (I, v).

And this has developed the existential neurosis in Hamlet.

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To conclude, we may concur with Edwin Booth in saying that Hamlet has really developed (existential) neurosis and that his "pretence was pretended."

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INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY IN THE NOVELS OF HERMANN HESSE

Amrit Lal Mehta

Nobel-Prize Winner German author Hermann Hesse was supposed to be a staunch individualist and because of this supposed attitude of his, he has been criticised on the one hand by National Socialists of his time, when he lived in his chosen exile Switzerland, for not being one with the then German society, and on the other hand by the Marxists, whose ideology does not permit them to rise above collectivism.

“Individual and Society in the works of Hermann Hesse” is, therefore, one theme, which should have long before attracted the attention of those who have been writing about Hesse and his works. In fact, an article titled “The Individual and Society in the works of Hermann Hesse” did appear in 1949, in the *Monatshefte* XL. I. This 10-page essay was authored by Walter Naumann of the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A., which in its limited format could not deal with the theme comprehensively, and confronted the problem of individual, as depicted in Hesse’s novels, in a one-sided manner. Subsequently Martin Pfeifer’s “Hermann Hesses Kritik an Bürgertum (1952), Eberhard Hilscher’s “Hermann Hesses Welt-anschauung” (1956), Waltraut Seiferts “Künstler und Gesellschaft in Prosawerk Hermann Hesses” (1956), T. E. Colby’s “Hermann Hesse’s attitude towards authority” (1959), Ute Hertling’s “Hermann Hesses Lyrik als Widerspiegelung persönlichen und gesellschaftlich bedingten Lebens” (1960), V. Ganeshan’s “Das Indien-erlebnis Hesses” (1974), Eberhard Lämmert’s “Hermann Hesse—Einzelgänger für Millionen” and Eugene L. Stelzig’s “A child possessed: Eigensinn as Harman Hesses identity theme” (1981) have been published, which in some way or other touched upon this theme.

The reviewers are of the view that Hermann Hesse was an *Einzelgänger* (maverick), and so were the main characters of his novels. The “Einzelgänger” of Hermann Hesse “carries out his ideals uninhibitedly, but must remain an hopeless outsider” or “who projected romances of past and future only to defect from his own

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dreams of community". Hesse himself contributed to this viewpoint, which is evident from a letter of his to a French student, in which he characterises the hero of his earliest novel "Peter Camenzind" thus :

"... instead of company, comradeship and integration he (Camenzind) sought the opposite, he does not want to tread the path, which many have trodden before, he wants stubbornly to go his own way, he will not like to run with others and adjust himself with them... He is not made for a life in a collective, he is a lonesome king in a dream-world of his own making. I think, we have found the start of the unbroken thread, which runs through all my works." This letter fully corroborates what Hesse's reviewers later have to say about the hero of his subsequent novels as well.

But as far as the detachment from society is concerned, Hesse's novels beginning with "Demian" depict a hero, who is different from his earlier counterparts in "Peter Camenzind", "Unterm Rad", "Gertrud" and "Raphael".

While Hermann Hesse's detractors have blamed him for his being against *vita activa*, and the *vita contemplativa* of his hero has been termed as total detachment from the society, they have failed to notice the metamorphosis which he has gone through with "Demian". Beginning with "Demian" upto "Das Glasperlenspiel" (in the intervening period he wrote "Klingsor's letzter Sommer", "Siddhartha", "Der Steppenwolf", "Narziss und Goldmund" and "Die Morgenlandfahrt") the hero of Hermann Hesse's novels wants to get more and more integrated into the society, which includes the institutions, which he had earlier abhorred, viz. school, family, theology, tradition, the worldly life. In his earlier works too, Hesse's hero had longed for worldly life, but was not made for the same. He could not, however, reconcile himself with the authoritarianism, but his crusade against the authoritarianism of the society, reflected in his novels like "Der Steppenwolf" goes only to prove his concern for the well-being of the society, which ultimately sublimates to a level, where the individual steps out of his nutshell to form a "nobility of mind", a society of elected individuals, as in "Die Morgenlandfahrt" and "Das Glasperlenspiel", whose chief objective is to serve, and this service is meant not only for the individual, but for the biggest cluster of individuals, the mankind.

Hermann Hesse had lived through the most turbulent times of

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the German history, when the individual and the society were also having a turbulent relationship between them. In order to do justice to the theme of individual and society in the novels of Hermann Hesse, it would be essential to have an idea of the society, in which Hesse lived, and its interaction with the individual. An example should suffice to illustrate the point: To compare the national characters of Germans and Americans, a Behavioural Pattern Study Group made a content analysis of the 45 most popular plays produced in the two countries in 1927, an year, in which both countries were political democracies, enjoying a period of economic prosperity, and during the time when Hesse had been through the first world war, and was watching with concern the rise of National Socialism. "Narziss und Goldmund", "Die Morgenlandfahrt" and "Das Glasperlenspiel" were written after this, whereas "Der Steppenwolf" had just been completed. The study found that the German plays were considerably more ideological, philosophical, historical and social-minded than the American ones. The personal crimes and sins, which posed the basic problems in the American plays were frequently excused or justified in the German plays. In the German plays, society was pictured as responsible—not the individual.

Though this lone example cannot be called fully representative of the then German society, still it is now history that the folk-idealism of Germans mixed with the jingoism of Hitler's Nazi party put a great strain on the individual, who had either to bow before the mass-hysteria or to become a maverick. Hermann Hesse's hero in some of his later novels fought against this hysteria of the society, in order to save the individual as well as the society, while himself remaining an *Einzelgänger*. But as it happened, he still underwent a change for the better in his last two novels, "Die Morgenlandfahrt" and "Das Glasperlenspiel".

The change in Hesse's outlook towards society was brought about by three important factors. Firstly, the first world war, which inflicted brutal misery on Europe in general and on Germany in particular, secondly Hesse's friendship to Romain Rolland starting in 1915 and thirdly his psycho-therapy by J. B. Lang, a student of C. G. Jung in Lucerne in 1916. This was a turning point in Hesse's life, and his new hero was born with a completely changed *Weltanschauung*. So much so that Hesse published "Demian" under a pseudonym "Emil Sinclair," which was a symbol of a rejuvenated

author and his attitude towards the society.

Hesse's personal life reflected in his work is no secret. In his earlier years, society bothered him not only in the shape of *Bürgerum*, but also in the form of his immediate environment, namely family, school, work etc. When Hesse was in a dilemma, whether to marry his long-time friend Ruth Wenger, he wrote a letter to Georg Reinhart in 1921. This was the time, when he was going to finish "Siddhartha". He wrote : "What will happen to Siddhartha later, I too would like to know. My experience with life has been much more than his, but in my case neither there has been an end nor a result, hence I cannot describe it in my work . . . I could represent the re-adjustment of the individual in the whole and in the society only then, if I would have come far on this path." Indeed Hesse had progressed far on this course. The concluding part of "Siddhartha" testifies this statement. Siddhartha was one with the world in the end. When Govinda kisses Siddhartha's forehead, "he sees a flowing stream of faces, hundreds, thousands of faces, who all came and disappeared, but at the same time they appeared to be there . . . He sees animals, gods, humans . . . he sees all these figures and faces in thousand relationships to each other, helping, loving, hating, destroying, recreating each other."

What is here proposed to be established is that with "Demian" and subsequent novels, the hero in Hermann Hesse's novels did not remain a maverick. This stand is completely at variance with that of most of the Hesse-Kenner. Another point in establishing this theory is the influence of Indian philosophy on the changed attitude of Hermann Hesse's hero. After the publication of "Siddhartha" in 1922, Hesse writing in a letter to Helene Welti stated that "the end of "Siddhartha" was almost more Taoistic than Hinduistic." In the later years of his life Hesse thought himself to be closer to the Chinese than to the Indian philosophy. In 1927 Hesse wrote in "Eine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur". "For decades now I am increasingly finding happiness in reading these Chinese books, one of these lies mostly near my bed. What those Indians did not possess, namely closeness to life, the harmony of a noble spirituality, which conforms to the demands of highest moral norms, coupled with the play and enticement of the sensual and everyday life—the wide to and fro between high spirituality and naive comforts of life, all this is available here in plenty. If India had achieved higher and stirring goals

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in asceticism and monastic renunciation of the world, the old China had at the same time achieved something wonderful in cultivating a spirituality, for which nature and intellect, religion and day-to-day life were not inimical, but friendly contrasts, and both of them came to their own . . .”

Hermann Hesse could not and should not have alluded here to Hinduism. While referring to Indian philosophy, Hermann Hesse sometimes forgot to mention Buddhism separately, since the attributes in reference to asceticism are more relevant to Buddhism than Hinduism. When Hesse refers to Taoism, he forgets his relationship with Indian religions, which he lived with and breathed since his childhood, and the influence of which always remained on his being. The end of “Siddhartha”, which he mentions as Taoistic, reminds one more of the revelation Lord Krishna brings to Arjun, where Arjun has Lord’s *Vishwarupa Darshan*. The destruction and recreation mentioned to in the last chapter of the book are nothing, but the destruction and recreation of *Srishti* by Shiva and Brahman respectively, a motive, which Hesse used more often in his works.

What Hesse writes in this context about Indian religions, does not hold good for Hinduism. Eberhardt Paul in his “Der Weisheit letzter Schlup” (1921) had stated : “. . . the most profound Indian teachings have nothing to do with (. . .) pessimism. Simply the thought that every religion, which has it’s roots in negation, perishes and could never find enlightenment for such a long time, would have disconcerted it. But it is not so. This spirit, which is speaking, breathes in each of it’s words a glowing affirmation for everything, which surrounds it.”

In the “Chandogya Upanishad” also, the Dharma of an individual has been defined as being student, householder and hermit. Tattitriya Upanishad defines Dharma as duties of stage of life, to which we belong. Bhagvadgita and Manu also subscribe to this viewpoint. The eminent Hindu scholar Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his book “Religion and Society” has elaborated it as such : “. . . The Hindu does not elevate asceticism, or exalt the sterile renunciation of the joys of life. Physical well-being is an essential part of human well-being. Pleasure is a part of the good life. It is both sensuous and spiritual . . .”

Hence it was the influence of Hinduism on Hesse which changed the attitude of the hero of his later novels towards society.

A CRITIQUE OF THE TERMINOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE ARTHASHASTRA

D. D. Sharma

Introductory : Kautilya is one of those luminaries of ancient India of whom the country can be legitimately proud enough. His *Arthashāstra* is a landmark in the field of scientific contributions in Indian literature. Its importance as an outstanding work on the science of polity or public administration has been fully recognized the world over. But from the point of terminologies, too, it occupies an important place in Indian literature. For, in it the author has not only given us numerous technical terms relating to various sciences dealt with in this multidimensional monumental work, but also has preserved for the posterity numerous terms which had traditionally come down to him.

Before discussing various terminological aspects of *The Arthashāstra* it may not be inappropriate to say a few words about the importance of terminologies in the study of a scientific work, and of Kautilya as a terminologist.

Importance of the Knowledge of Terminologies : There cannot be two opinions on the point that a prime requisite for the proper understanding and exact interpretation of the text of *śāstriya* or scientific work is a thorough acquaintance with its technical terminologies and the semantic implications underlying them. The importance of it is specially increased where the work belongs to a period in distant past and contains new terms which were coined or used by the author for the first time to convey specific concepts.

It needs no mention that there are a number of technical terms relating to the science of polity or public administration which were for the first time coined or used by Kautilya in his *Arthashāstra*. Besides new terms, he has also used ordinary linguistic terms as technical terms by assigning them specific semantic connotations.

Moreover, a clear understanding of the composition and semantic implications of various technical terms of *The Arthashāstra* is also

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important to understand the exact shades of meaning of those terms which have been often used by his successors in their works on technical and non-technical literature. During the course of the study of ancient Sanskrit literature one often comes across terms which either had become obsolete or had undergone considerable semantic change since the times of Kautilya. We notice that even long back the commentators of those works had to fall back upon *The Arthashāstra* to find exact shades of meanings of these terms. For instance, there are many terms from *The Arthashāstra* which have been used by the poet Kalidasa in his compositions, but many of them had already become obscure by the time the celebrated Sanskrit commentator, Mallinatha, wrote his commentaries on them. So to explain the exact connotations of these terms he had to seek assistance from *The Arthashāstra* itself. A few of them may be illustrated as under :

- (1) *abhiṣyanda vamaṇa* : This term occurs in the Raghu. (xv. 29) and the Kumara. (v. 37) in the same sense, viz. "increase in population" as we find it in the Artha. (II. 1.1)¹. There the commentator not only explains it in terms of *The Arthashāstra*, but also, to authenticate his interpretation, quotes Kautilya by name.²
- (2) *niyoga* and *vikalpa* : Both these terms occur in the Raghu. (xvii.49) in the same technical sense in which they were used by Kautilya in the Artha.³ i.e. to denote "strategic alternative means" to obtain wealth. Here, too, to explain the contextual technical meanings of these terms Mallinatha had to resort to the explanation of these terms offered by Kautilya.⁴ Similarly, there are many terms like *prakṛti vairāgya* (Raghu. xii. 55), *parābhisandhāna* (ibid. xvii. 81) etc. For the explanation of which Mallinatha has entirely depended on the Arthashastra, sometime quoting the text verbatim and sometime paraphrasing it.

Kautilya As a Terminologist : From the opening remarks of Kautilya, in *The Arthashāstra*, it is quite evident that there were earlier works, too, on this subject on which the author of the present *Arthashāstra* freely drew upon.⁵ Besides, we know that there were many codified and uncoded *strategic* traditions ever since the Vedic period. In the composition of this multidimensional work Acharya Kautilya must have drawn upon them as well for his terminologies. At present, though it may be difficult to say precisely about the quantum of terms which were

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drawn from older stocks and those which were coined by him, yet one can safely presume that at least the terms for which he was obliged to offer definitions or explanations were either entirely introduced by him or were used by him for the first time with added semantic loads.

From the terms bearing the stamp of fresh coinage we can also see that, as a terminologist, Kautilya was conscious enough of the fact that the terms coined by him should be both, compact in form and potent enough to convey the desired sense. For, in the last chapter of his treatise, explaining the relationship between a term (*pada*) and its meaning (*padārtha*), he clearly states, "The sense which a word has to convey is its meaning, for example, with regard to the word *mūlahara*: whoever squanders the wealth acquired for him by his father and grandfather is a *mūlahara*, i.e. a prodigal son."⁶ Looking from this angle of terminologies of *The Arthashastra* we find that there are hundreds of terms coined by Kautilya which clearly bear witness to this relationship of the word (term) and its meaning as illustrated by him.

In the following pages we may now discuss a few salient features of the terminologies of the Arthashastra. Regarding citations in these discussions it may be mentioned that all Sanskrit citations are based on the text of *The Arthashastra* published by M/s. Meharchand Lachman Das, Delhi (V. 2027) alongwith Hindi translation by Shri Udayavir Shastri and the English translation, though sparingly, on the Mysore edition of it (7th ed. 1961) by Dr. Shama Sastry.

Technical Terms Defined: The most important contribution of Kautilya as a terminologist is that he offers definitions and explanations, sometimes with illustrations, of various technical terms used by him, particularly with regard to terms which either carried additional semantic load than what is expressed by its componential elements or terms which were intended to convey specific meanings, besides their etymological meanings in their specific contexts. Moreover, it is also likely that he may have adopted the technique of offering definitions for older terms as well which he felt were not self sufficient to communicate the meaning or the associated aspect of it by themselves or were likely to be misunderstood by those who are not fully conversant with them. Now, of course, we can say with definiteness that this foresightedness of Kautilya has done a great service to the posterity. For, there was every possibility that the intended meanings of these terms would have become obscure for us today, as many of them have become, had he not cared

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to define them in specific terms. Happily, the number of such terms is the maximum in the *Arthashastra*. A few of these may be illustrated as follows :

(1) In Chapter XI of the Book I under the caption, 'The Institution of Spies' we notice that at the first instance he enumerates the various technical terms for different kinds of spies such as *Kāpaṭika* (fraudulent), *udāsthita* (a recluse), *grihapatika* (a house holder) *Vaidehaka* (a merchant), *tāpasa* (an ascetic practising austerities), *rasada* (a poisoner) and *bhikshuṇi* (a mendicant woman).⁷ But realizing that the term itself is not enough to make home the forms and the functions of the spy concerned for whom the particular term stands, he subsequently offers definitions of each of them, e.g., 'A skilful person capable of guessing the mind of others is a fraudulent disciple' and so on.⁸ Similarly, he thinks it necessary to explain the polysemantic term *rasada* which can be interpreted in many ways. According to him, in this context the term *rasada* is to be interpreted as 'Those who have no trace of filial affection left in them and who are very cruel and indolent.'⁹ In Sanskrit one of the meanings of *rasa* is poison as well. The persons with the above noted characteristics are capable of administering poison to any one, including their own kith and kin; hence, they have been termed as *rasadāh*. In the absence of the above given explanation this term could be interpreted for a physician as well.

In this very context we come across another polysemantic term *tiksṇa* which in the absence of its definition could be interpreted in any way. Visualising this probability, and to make it more specific Kautilya states, "such brave desperadoes of the country, who reckless of their own life, confront elephants or tigers in fight, mainly for the purpose of earning money are termed fire brands or fiery spies."¹⁰

What we have said (above) about the probability of offering explanations for certain terms may be evident from the following :

In the Adhikarana 2, Chapter 6 we come across a sutra—*Karaṇīyam siddham sheṣamāyavyayau nīvī ca* : which contains six terms, connected with the functions of the revenue officer. Here the author has left the two terms, viz. *āya* and *vyaya* unexplained, because they were quite clear in their meaning, but thinks it necessary to explain the remaining four, e.g., the term *nīvī*, according to Kautilya, stands for "that amount or net balance which remains after deducting all expenditure already incurred and

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excluding all revenue to be realized or brought forward.”¹¹ (II.6.27). Others, too, have been defined similarly. It is certain that in the absence of these explanations the intended meanings of the terms like *Siddham*, *sheṣam*, etc. would have become totally obscure to us. This presumption can be supported from the unexplained terms enumerated in connection with the sources of income (*mūlam bhāgo vyāji parighaḥ kṛptam rūpikamatyayaścāya-mukham* II.V.10). In this all but *vyāji* have been left undefined. The terms *mūla*, *bhāga* and *atyaya* are clear and continued to be used as such in later periods, but in the absence of their definition the terms *parighaḥ*, *rūpika* etc. have become obscure and are being rendered in different terms by different interpreters (see section obscurity). On the other hand, hundreds of terms like *anyijāta* (II.VI) carrying wide semantic load have remained intelligible to us with their exact connotations due to their definitions, available in the text of the *Arthashāstra* itself.¹²

Similarly, in I, X, he has made it a point to explain in detail the four terms, viz. *dharmopadhā*, *arthopadhā*, *kāmopadhā* and *bhayopadhā* prescribed to test the honesty and sincerity of a person to be appointed as minister. In book II Ch. VIII he has elaborately defined all the eight terms coined in connection with the causes leading to deplete the treasury, e.g. *prayoga* : (loan) : Earning periodic interest on government money by lending it to a party; *vyavahāra* (trading) : carrying on trade by making use of government money, etc.¹³

In this context one can, however, safely presume that many of the terms for which Kautilya did not feel the necessity of offering any definition or explanation were quite common in his times. But unfortunately, with the passage of time many of them went into disuse and, as such, became obscure to the posterity. It is here that we can appreciate the importance of giving definition of technical terms by the terminologist himself. For it is he who can tell us precisely what underlying sense he intends to indicate by a particular technical term.

Aspect of Obscurity : It needs no mention that the *Arthashāstra* is a multi-disciplinary encyclopaedic composition dealing with every aspect of administration, law and order, diplomacy, trade and commerce, etc. As such, it is sure that the terminological contribution made by Kautilya in the field of social sciences will ever be acknowledged by scholars with a sense of gratitude. There are numerous terms pertaining to these

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branches of knowledge which have been used in the *Arthashastra* and have been freely borrowed by ancient Indian writers on these and other subjects and a majority of them have come down to us as well. But what we wish to point out here is this that there are many terms which either in the absence of their explanations offered by Kautilya could not hold good in the same sense with the later writers in which they were used by him or became totally obsolete in the absence of their acceptance by the writers who flourished after him. As such, in the absence of the knowledge of their underlying concepts, these have been interpreted in different terms by its commentators and translators. This may be illustrated by a few examples given below :

- (i) *madanarasa* : This term occurs in I. XVIII.10 (*madanarasayogenatishandhayapaharet*) which has been rendered as 'poison' by Dr. Shama Sastry and as 'medicines which induce unconsciousness' by Udayavir Shastri and as 'intoxicants' by Gairola, and so on.
- (ii) *yogapāna* : This term occurs in I. XVII. 39. (*madyakāmam yogapānenodvejayeyuh*). Here too the term in question has been rendered as "liquor adulterated with narcotics" by Sastry, and as 'disgusting or unpalatable thing' by Udayavir Shastri and Gairola.
- (iii) *gr̥ṣṭi* : This term occurs in II. 1.3 *nadīvanashailagr̥ṣṭidari*. Here too, the term has been rendered as "bulbous plant" by Sastry and as "the jujube tree (beri)" by Udayavir Shastri & Gairola.
- (iv) *parigha* : This term occurs in II. VI, in connection with sources of income (*mūlam bhāgo vyājī parigha . . . āyamukham*). In this the term *parigha* has been left unexplained by the author, consequently, it has been left untranslated (with a question mark) by Dr. Sastry and has been rendered as "unclaimed property" by Hindi translators.
- (v) *rūpika* : It also occurs in the above passage and has not been explained by the author, consequently, Dr. Shastry renders it as "premia on coins" and Shastri and Gairola as "salt tax."
- (vi) *pradhāvitikā* and *niṣkuhadvāra* : Both these terms occur in II. III.19. (*agrāhye deshe pradhāvitikām niṣkuhadvāram ca*), and have been left unexplained by the author. Consequently, Dr. Sastry, following the etymological meaning renders them as "passage for flight and door for exit", but both the Hindi translators explaining their technical meaning translate them as 'a

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place of protection from arrows coming from outside (*pradhāvitika*)' and 'the whole made for shooting arrows from inside (*niṣkuhadvāra*)'.

- (vii) *sannidhātā* : It occurs in II.V. (*Sannidhātā Koshagṛham—bandhanāgaram ca kārayet*). Following its etymological meaning, it has been rendered as 'Chamberlain, one who ever attends upon the king' by Dr. Sastry, but as "treasurer" by both Shastri and Gairola.
- (viii) *ayuktadaṇḍa*, *pārśva*, *ḍamaragatakasvam*, all occurring in II. VI.20. In the absence of any definition these terms have been rendered differently by Dr. Sastry and Udayavir Shastri (see P. 60 and P. 124 respectively). Also see *anugraha* and *parihāra* (II.I.16).¹⁴
- (ix) The term *tīrtha* occurring in I. XII. 22 (*aṣṭādashatīrtha*)¹⁵ has been rendered as "government departments" by Dr. Sastry, and as "government servants" by Udayavir Shastri.
- (x) *Ṣapathavākyaṇuyoga* : This term has been used by Kautilya in the technical sense of "the trial of a criminal on oath," but the author of the *yajñavalkya smṛiti* uses it in the sense of "an improper oath". Again the terms '*yukta*' and '*ayukta*' used by Kautilya in the sense of "a government official" and "other than the government official" respectively (also used by Ashoka in his inscriptions in this very sense) have been used by Yajñavalkya in the sense of 'proper' (*yogya*) and 'improper' (*ayogya*) and his commentator Vijnanabhikṣu also follows him. There are many more terms belonging to this class of terms which have been differently used or interpreted by later writers.

Obsolescence : Closely related to the aspect of obscurity is the aspect of obsolescence. There are many terms which ceased to be popular with later writers, hence became obsolete in due course of time. A few terms belonging to this class are :

- (i) *yukta* a government official
- (ii) *ayukta* other than a government official
- (iii) *Upayukta* : a subordinate official
- (iv) *tatpuruṣa* a servant
- (v) *parigha* a tax;

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- (vi) *rūpika* a tax
- (vii) *niveshakālah* time of remarriage
- (viii) *ucchulka* toll tax.
- (ix) *heḍa* displeasure, punishment, as in *heḍaprasāda* 'punishment and reward'.
- (x) *antevāsi* immediate officer, as in *samsthānamantevāsinaḥ* 'the immediate officers of the institute of espionage (I.XII) etc.

Specificatory Aspect : Another important aspect of the terminologies of Kautilya, which would place him among the first grade terminologists of antiquity, is the coinage of distinctive terms belonging to a particular class or category of them.

It is a well-known fact that specificatory terms, indicative of the specific aspect of an object partially differing in nature, form, quality or quantity from the rest of its class are the indicators of the very advanced stage of the language concerned, and in the *Arthashastra* we come across scores of instances in which this aspect of the terminologies is fully vindicated. For instance, (i) in book 2, chapter 30 seven specific categories of horses according to their sources have been enumerated, such as (1) *paṇyāgārikam* (those that are kept in sale house for sale), *krayopāgatam* (recently purchased), *ahavālabdham* (captured in wars), *ājātam* (local breed), *sābhyakāgatam* (received in lieu of help rendered to some one), *paṇasthitam* (mortgaged), *yāvatkālikam* (temporarily kept in the stable).

(ii) Similarly, there are 5 terms for the physical splendour of elephants. They have been classified into five groups on the basis of their tamability, and the drills prescribed for them have been categorised as *samāvartana* (turning), *samyāna* (advancing), *vadhāvadha*, (trampling down and killing), *hastivuddha* (fighting with other elephants) *nāgarayaṇam* (assailing forts and cities).

(iii) In book 2 chapter 11 the author has classified the terms for necklaces on the basis of the number of their strings and the kind, quality and placement of different gems in them, e.g. differentiating the terms *ekāvali*, *yaṣṭi* and *ratnāvali* he states—the only string of pearls is called pure *ekāvali*, the same with a gem in the centre, is called *yaṣṭi*, the same variegated with gold globules is termed *ratnāvali*, a string made of pearls and gold globules alternately put is called *aparāvartaka*, strings of pearls with a gold wire between two strings is called *soṇānaka* etc.¹⁶ Besides the distinctive terms for the superior varieties of gems,

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he has enumerated 18 varieties of inferior gems on the differentiating quality of their hues and shades (II. XI). Similarly, he has coined seven terms for gold on the basis of their origin, colour and quality (II. XIII). It may be interesting to note that different terms for gold, which are wrongly taken as synonyms for gold in general, stand for different varieties of it, according to terms defined by Kautilya (II. XIII).

There are a number of contexts in which a covering term has been split into a number of specificatory terms on account of their partial variation from one another. A classical example of this may be cited with reference to taxes to be realized from different sources. In this regard the most commonly attestable terms are (II. XV) :

- (i) *piṇḍakara* : taxes collected from villages.
- (ii) *śaḍbhāga* : taxes paid in the form of one-sixth of the produce.
- (iii) *senābhakta* : taxes or provision realized from people for the army.
- (iv) *bali* : taxes levied for religious purposes.
- (v) *kara* : taxes paid in cash by vassal kings and others.
- (vi) *utsaṅga* : taxes specially collected on the birth of a prince.
- (vii) *pārśva* : marginal revenue.
- (viii) *kauṣṭhevaka* : taxes levied on land below tank, lake etc. made by the state.
- (ix) *parihīnaka* : compensation levied for any damage.
- (x) *gulmadaya* : tax payable at military stations.
- (xi) *taradeya* : taxes paid for ferrying.
- (xii) *vartanī* : road cess.
- (xiii) *ativāhika* : conveyance cess.
- (xiv) *shulka* : toll tax.
- (xv) *klṛptam* : fixed taxes to be paid by villages on sea-shores or banks of rivers.

Also note specificatory terms, for envoys with definitions (I. XVI) and for royal writs on the basis of their contents and forms (II. X) or forms of negotiations (ibid).

Similarly, in II. 25.17 he has specified six kinds of wines by assigning different terms to them, differentiated by their ingredients and methods of extraction etc.¹⁷

Contextually Definable Terms : Opposed to the specificatory terms, there are a number of homophonous terms in the *Arthashastra* which

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are to be defined in different terms in different contexts. In these the basic requirement of a technical term, viz. 'one term one concept' and 'uniformity in meaning' of a term, has not been followed strictly. In the study of the *Arthashastra* we come across many such terms which in different contexts undergo a sea change in their meanings. For instance, the term *rāṣṭīa* in the context of revenue (II. VI. 3) indicates "production from crown land (*sitā*), portion of produce payable to the government (*bhāga*), religious taxes (*bali*), taxes paid in money by (*kara*), by merchants, the superintendents of rivers; ferries, boats and ships, town pasture grounds, road cess (*vartanī*), of ropes (*rajju* ?) and ropes to bind thieves (*corarajju*) (It may be a kind of tax realized from villagers for their protection from thieves). But in (II. XV. 3) the subjects indicated by this term are : 'the taxes to be realized from villages (*piṇḍakara*), taxes that are paid in the form of one-sixth of production (*saḍbhāga*), provision paid (by the people) for the army (*senābhakta*), taxes that are levied for religious purposes (*bali*), taxes and subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others (*kara*), taxes that are specially collected on the occasion of the birth of a prince (*utsaṅga*), taxes that are collected when there is some margin left for such collection (*pārśva*), compensation levied in the shape of grains for any damage done by cattle to crops, (*parihīnaka*), presentation made to the king (*aupāyanika*), and taxes that are levied on lands below tanks, lakes etc. built by the king (*Kauṣṭheyaka*), all these come under the head "Rastriya". A comparison of these two definitions makes it clear that the items enumerated in them differ in many respects from one another.

Similarly, in II. XV. 83 in the context of *visti* the term *dāpaka* stands for 'the person who supervises the supply of commodities to the store-house' and *dāyaka* for "the person who supplies the commodities", but in II. VIII. 63, in the context of finance these indicate "the person who causes the payment" and "the payer" respectively.

In the same way, the term *tīrtha* denotes "a government department or officials" (*aṣṭāśatīrtha*), in I. XII. 22, but in I. XIII. 2 it denotes the usual sense of 'places of pilgrimage'.

There are a number of terms which, in the absence of their context, either do not indicate any thing or can indicate any object or concept related to their derivative or componential elements, e.g. *agnisamyogah*. The simple meaning of it could be 'to put to fire, to burn, etc.' but in the context of arms it stands for "explosives".

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Conventionality : There are a good number of terms which do not conform to their etymological sense. All these terms seem to have come down to him through convention (*rudhi*) and were accepted by him in their popular sense. But in such cases he was quite particular to offer their conventional definitions, because his keen eye could foresee that in the absence of this the meanings of these terms, because of their deficient etymological constructions, would not remain intelligible to people for long. Today we can say with certainty that he was perfectly right in his conjecture. For, we know that in the absence of their definitions a number of terms of the *Arthashāstra* have already become obscure to us (see section of obscurity).

The best examples of this type of terms can be seen in Book II Chapter III. There are a number of terms in connection with the construction of fort which stand for certain conventional meanings, as opposed to their etymological meanings, e.g. *Indrakosha* : explaining the structure and location of this in the suprastructure of a fort he states—“Between the lower and the broad street there shall be constructed an *Indrakosha* which is made up of covering pieces of perforated wooden planks affording seats for three archers”. (II. III. 16).¹⁸

devapatha. The context is the same as above (II. III. 17). About this it has been stated that there shall be made *devapatha* which shall measure two *hasta* inside (the *Indrakosha*) four times as much by the side and eight *hastas* along the parapet.¹⁹

Common Linguistic Terms used as Technical Terms :

Another notable aspect of the terminologies of Kautilya is that he picks up ordinary linguistic terms and ameliorates them to the status of technical terms, but in all such cases care has been taken to see that they are not confused with their lexical meanings. For this he has been particular enough to explain, then and there, the specific meaning intended by them.

Moreover, at one point he himself makes it clear that though the lexical or etymological meaning of a term may have a different connotation, yet it can be used to convey a specific restricted sense in the context of the *Arthashāstra*. There citing the example of the term *Shāsana* ‘command’ he says that in the context of this work it will be applicable to the royal writs only (*śāsane śāsanamityācaksate* II.10.1).

Notable examples of restricting the meaning of a word to its

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technical sense is attested in various terms enumerated with regard to causes leading to deplete the treasury of the state. These are—*pratibandha*, *prayoga vyavahāra*, *avastāra*, *parihāpana*, *upabhoga*, *parivartana* and *upahāra* (II. 8). Basically, all these terms are totally non-technical and can be used as such in any context. But here the author while employing them as technical terms makes it a point to explain to the reader the specific semantic significance assigned to them by him. We may reproduce the same as under :

pratibandha : The ordinary dictionary meaning of this term is “obstruction”, but explaining the form and scope of obstruction as intended by it as a technical term of the Arthashastra he states—failure to start an undertaking, or to realize its results, or to credit its profits (to the treasury) is known as *pratibandha*.

prayoga : The normal lexical meaning of this term is ‘use, application, employment’, but in this context it has been used in the sense of ‘utilization, investment, etc. According to its definition given here, it stands for ‘lending or investing money of the treasury (for ones private gains)’.

Vyavahāra : Lexically, this polysemantic term denotes, besides ‘conduct or action’, the sense of ‘a transaction, commerce, dealing in money etc., but here this term has been given the sense of ‘trading’ i.e. making use of the government money for private trading.

All the other terms enumerated above have been similarly explained of their semantic implication as technical terms in this context.²⁰

Similarly, in book II Ch. 6 in the context of the duties of the collector-general (*samāhartā*) he states—the collector general shall attend to collection of revenue from *durga*, *raṣṭra*, *khani*, *setu*, *vana*, *vraja* and *vanikpatha*. Here too, most of the above noted terms have their limited conventional meanings, but the meanings intended by the author of the Arthashastra are widely different from their conventional or lexical meanings. But as usual in this case, too, to avoid confusion, he has explained the specific meanings of each of the term assigned to it in the context concerned (II.6.1-8).

Besides, we may also refer to terms like *nāyaka* a constable, *paura* officer-in-charge of the city, *gopā* officer-in-charge of a group of villages *nāgaraka* city superintendent etc.

Semantic change : It is but natural that during the past two

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thousand years or so a number of terms have undergone semantic changes of various degrees. Consequently, while studying *the Arthashāstra* one comes across a number of instances in which it becomes difficult to reach the exact meaning of them. As such, a systematic analysis and identification of original meanings of these terms too is a task worth undertaking by scholars.

Textual Criticism: Another important aspect which needs immediate attention of scholars is settlement of the text of *The Arthashāstra*. For, in recent years the discovery of some manuscripts, with valuable commentaries, has brought to light that there are a number of places, including technical terms, in which the text shows variant readings. As such, the preparation of a critical edition, with authentic readings, is an urgent step to be taken by experts in textual criticism.

At the end it may be said that though quite a good amount of exploration has already been done with regard to various aspects of *the Arthashāstra*, there is still a lot to be done in the direction of the terminologies of it.

पाद टिप्पणियां

1. (क) या सौराज्य प्रकाशाभिः बभौ पीर विभूतिभिः ।
स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशिता (रघु० १५-२६) ।
(ख) अलकामतिबाह्वैव बसति वसुसम्पदाम् ।
स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशितम् (कुमार० ६.३७) ।
टीका—स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दो अतिरिक्तजनः तस्य वमनमाहरणं कृत्वा ।
2. कोटिल्यः—भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वं वा जनपदं परदेशप्रवाहेण स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् (अधि० २. अ. १)
3. रात्रिं दिवं विभागेषु यथादिष्ट महीक्षिताम् ।
तत् सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः (रघु० १७.४६)
4. गुरु लाघवयोगाच्चापदां नियोगविकल्पसमुच्चयाः भवन्ति ।
“अनेनेवोपायेन नान्येन” नियोगः ।
“अनेन वान्येन वा” विकल्पः ; (अर्थ० ६.७)
5. पृथिव्यालाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः
प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् (अर्थ० १.१.१)

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6. पदावधिकः पदाथः “मूलहरः” इतिपदम् । “यः पितृपतामहमर्थमन्यायेन भक्षयति स मूलहरः” इत्यर्थः । (अधि. २ अ. ६)
7. कापटिकोदास्यितगृह्यतिवन्देहकतापसव्यंजनान् सत्रितीक्ष्ण रसदभिक्षुकीश्च । (अर्थ. अधि. १. अ. ११)
8. परममंजः प्रप्लभः छात्रः कापटिकः । प्रव्रज्याप्रत्यवसितः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तः उदास्यितः कर्षकोवृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचायुक्तो गृहपतिकव्यजनः । वाणिज्यवृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तो वैदेहकव्यजनः आदि आदि । (अर्थ. अधि. १. अ. ११)
9. ये बन्धुषु निःस्नेहाः क्रूराश्चालसाश्च ते रसदाः इति । वही ।
10. ये जानपदे शूरास्त्यक्तात्मानो हस्तिनं व्यालं वा द्रव्यहेतोःप्रतियोधेयुस्ते तीक्ष्णाः । (वही)
11. व्ययसंज्ञासादायव्ययविशुद्धा नीवी (अधि. २. अ. ६. २७)
12. नष्टप्रस्मृतमायुक्तदण्डः पार्श्व पारिहीणिमोपायनिकं डमरगतकस्वमपुत्रकं निधिश्चान्यजातः (२. ६. २०)
13. कौशद्रव्याणां वृद्धि प्रयोगाः प्रयोगः । पण्यव्यवहारो व्यवहारः । सिद्धं कालमप्राप्तं करोत्यप्राप्तं प्राप्तं वेत्यवस्तारः । क्लृप्तमायं परिहाययति व्ययं वा विवर्धयतीति परिहापणम् । स्वयमन्यैर्वा राजद्रव्याणामुपभोजनमुपभोगः, राजद्रव्याणामन्यद्रव्येणादानं परिवर्तनम् । इत्यादि ।
14. अनुग्रहपरिहारो चेभ्यः कोशवृद्धिकरोदद्यात् । (२. १. १६)
15. एवं शत्रो च मित्रे च मध्यमे चावपेच्चरान् ।
उदासीने च तेषां च तीर्थेष्वाष्टादशस्वपि । (१. १२. २२)
16. सूत्रमेकावली शुद्धा । सैव मणिमध्यायष्टिः । हेममणिचित्रा रत्नावली । हेममणि मुक्तान्तरो अपर्वतकः । सुवर्णसूत्रान्तरं सोपानकम् । मणिमध्यं वा मणिसोपानकम् ।
17. मेदकप्रसन्नासवारिष्टमैरेयमधूनामुदकं द्रोणं तण्डुलानामाधाढिकं त्रयः प्रस्थाः किं वस्येति मेदकप्रयोगः (इत्यादि)
18. अट्टालकप्रतोलीमध्ये त्रिधानुष्काधिष्ठानं सपिधानच्छिद्र फलकसंहतमितीन्द्रकोशं कारयेत् ।
19. अन्तरेषु द्विहस्तविष्कम्भं पार्श्वे चतुर्गुणायाममनुप्राकारमष्टहस्तायतं देवपथं कारयेत् ।
20. द्रष्टव्य पाद टिप्पण १३ ऊपर ।

“भारतीयपरम्परायां लोकसंग्रहपदमीमांसनम् ।”

रमाकान्तः आंगिरसः

नैतदविदितं विदुषां यद्य राष्ट्रव्यापिनि संकटकाले लोकाधर्मकुलधर्मगृहधर्मा-
दिसर्वधर्माणां विपद्ग्रस्तानांमूलोच्छेदप्रसंगोऽत्र वर्तते । नवीनभारतस्याभ्युदयकाल
एवैतावान् लोकसंकटकालः समुपस्थितः । सच किमपि कारणान्वेषणार्थं तेन च
समाधानप्राप्त्यर्थमस्मान्प्रेरयत्येव । परंच तत्र केषुचिन्मान्येषु भारतीय विद्यानुरागिषु
कुत्रचिदीदृशः मोहोऽपि परिलक्ष्यते यस्मिन् सर्वं समाधान बाह्यदेशांगभूतायामेव समाजनीत्यां
राजनीत्यां वाऽन्वेष्टुकामाः वर्तन्ते येन च ततोऽप्यधिका जटिलता संप्रवर्तते ।

तदेवं सर्वत्र बाह्यानुरागवशेन स्वस्थित लोक-नीतिपरिक्षयेण च विघटमानं
भारतीयलोकजीवनं दृष्ट्वा प्रश्नः समुत्पद्यते—किमिदं राष्ट्रं लोकजीवनविरोधिभिः
लोकातिगमोक्षाकांक्षिभिरेवाक्रान्तं वर्तते आहोस्वित् छद्मसंन्यासेनैवाप्रासंगिकैः
छद्मवैराग्यवाक्यैः भृशं संमोहिताः साधारणधारणाधियः लोकाः स्वस्वधर्माच्छाविताः ।
किमुत् गतपंचदशशतवर्षेभ्यः ततोऽप्यधिकेन कालेन वा प्रचरमाणेन गुह्यध्यायत्मवादेन
विदेशीनामाक्रमणैश्च खण्डशः क्रियमाणं भारतीय लोकसंस्कृतिसूत्रयोजनायां न किमपि
यतितम् । किं नु स्व स्व संप्रदाय प्रसारक्रमानुरोधेन लोकसूत्रयोजनमुपेक्षितम् । कथं न
खलु महामति कौटिल्यस्य प्रभावानन्तरं बौद्धाः वेदान्तिनः, सांख्याः चार्वाकाः
नीत्यनीतिविवेककुशलाः वैदिकाः पौराणिकाः स्मार्ताः वैष्णवाः शैवाः शाक्ता वा इमं
लोकसंस्कृतिसूत्रं सुचारुरूपेण योजयितुं नाशक्नवन् इति महान् संशयः उपजायते ।

आ पूर्वकालात् परापरविद्ययोः प्रसंगे प्रवर्तमाने कथमस्माभिः पराविद्योत्कर्ष-
स्याकर्षणे लोकाभ्युदयहेतुभूताऽपराविद्यापरपर्याया लोकविद्या तिरस्कृता । लोकानां
धारणायधिभूतं सर्वलोकगोचरं धर्ममपरिगण्य धर्मिणः ब्रह्मणः समुपासनायामेव
किमस्माभिः सर्वमनादृतम् । लोकानुशासनपराणां धर्मार्थकाममूलकानां शास्त्रविद्यनां
कथमेकपद एव निष्कासनं कृतम् । किमनेनैव हेतुनास्मदीयानां भारतीयानां धर्मार्थकामान्
प्रति औदासीन्येन लोकशास्त्रानुशीलनविरहिता लोकजीवनव्यवस्थाऽव्यवस्थिताऽस्माकं
पारतन्त्र्यस्य कारणं समजायत ? किन्तु खलु यस्मिन्देशे गणितज्योतिषभूगोलखगोल-
शिल्पवैशेषिक्यादिविज्ञानानां नाट्यकाव्यचित्रसंगीतादिचषुष्टिकलानां महोदयोऽवर्तत तत्र
कालचक्र वज्रयान सन्तमत सूफीमत कृष्णलीलामतानुसारिभिः गुह्याध्यात्मवेदिभिः यत्
किमपि प्रामुख्येन यतितं तत्सर्वमेव लोकोत्तरज्ञानानुभववासनावसितं सत् लोकजीवने

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विवर्द्धमानमस्वास्थ्यं प्रति कथमुपचारकरं नाभवदिति सर्वमेव विचारणापक्षे वर्तते ।

वर्तमानकालेऽपि प्रचलितायां भारतीयजनजीवनपद्धत्यां न खलु धर्मार्थकाममोक्ष व्यवहारे काऽपि सुसमंजसा व्यवस्था परिलक्ष्यते । सर्वत्रैवासांगतपाश्चात्यजीवनरीत्या प्रवर्तमानाऽन्धानुसरणमार्गमापतिताऽस्माकं राजनीतिः शास्त्रनीतिः धर्मनीतिः केवलं विश्वविद्यालयेषु पाठ्यक्रमांगभूताऽऽचार्यान् गुरुन् शिष्यान् गुरुदायित्वपूर्णं जीवननिर्वहार्थं प्रति प्रबोधितान्न करोति । सुस्पष्टं चेतदपि यदांग्लदेशीयैः सह संसर्गेण संघर्षेण च कतिचित्कालपर्यन्तं स्वामीदयानन्द राममोहनराय लोकमान्यतिलक महात्मागान्धि विनोबाप्रभृतिसर्वोदयचार्यैः कतिपयैश्च समाजवादपक्षधरैः लोकजीवनानुशोधनपरैः नेतृभिः यत् किमपि बहु चेष्टितम् तत्सर्वमेवाद्य भारतीयलोकजीवनपरंपरायां कथमसांगत्यं भजत इति सर्वमेव लोकार्थहितचिन्तनपराणां संवेदनशीलानामस्माकं विदुषामाचार्याणां चिन्तनस्य विषयः भवितुमर्हति । किञ्च काचन या विचारणाऽस्मान् भारतीयलोकजीवनानुचिन्तनं प्रत्यभिमुखान् करोति सा त्वस्माकमाचार्यैः बुद्धिवादमनुसरद्भिः यत् किमपि चिन्तितं प्रचारितं वा भवेत् परंचास्य राष्ट्रस्य भौगोलिकं वैशिष्ट्यमेवोपजीव्यास्माकीनैः कलाकृतिकारैः स्वकलाकृतिषु लोकजीवनविधानं परमार्थजीवनानुसन्धानं वा कृतं वर्तते । अतः वैदिककालादारभ्याद्यावधि पर्यन्तं यत् किमपि लोकार्थसंबद्धं वर्तते तत्सर्वं मेवैतेषां कलाविदां कृतिकर्मानुसन्धानेनोद्धतुं शक्यत इत्यत्र न कोऽपि सन्देहः । तेनैव च लोकशास्त्रपरम्परयोश्च विरुद्धत्वेनाभिमुखीभूतं कतिचित्कालादागतं वैमनस्यमपि समन्वेतुं पार्यत इति सर्वमेवाऽस्माभिः मनसि विनिश्चित्य पातञ्जलयोगसरणिमधिकृत्य “अथ लोकानुशासनम्” इति सूत्रादारभ्यऽस्माभिः प्रवर्तमानास्यविषयस्य पादचतुष्टयत्वेन कल्पनं कृतम् वर्तते । यतोहि धर्मोऽपि चतुष्पात् अथ च धर्मी जीवोऽपि अवस्थाचतुष्टयोपेतः चतुष्पादितिचोच्यते । तत्र तावत् कः लोकशब्दार्थः किञ्च तद्दर्शनसाधनम् काश्चास्य विभूतयः कथं च केवलं समष्टिप्रकाशसाधनपरं चिन्तनं भवेदिति सर्वं भारतीयपरम्परा विचारणप्रसंगेन यथा परिस्फुटं विभावनीयं स्यादथ च केषांचित् पाश्चात्य विद्वन्मन्यानां तर्कप्रवणानां शंकापंककलंकनिबर्हणं चापि स्यात् येन च भारतीया लोकनीतिश्च पुनः स्वाभाविकं प्राकाश्यमियादिति सर्वमस्माकं दिग्गजैः विद्वद्भिः समालोचनीयं भवतु । केवलं विदेहमुक्तितत्त्वगायकं किमपि निर्गुणं निष्कलं निष्क्रियं लोकातिगं मायावादादिकमतिक्रम्य लोकवादप्रतिष्ठापनमेवास्माकं सिद्धान्तपक्षे वर्तताम् । शून्यामूर्ततत्त्ववादिनोऽस्माकं पूर्वपक्षपदे प्रतिष्ठिताः सन्त्विति नोऽमिलाषः । मूर्तं च जगदस्माकं जिज्ञासाविषयः भवत्विति कृत्वा “अमूर्तव्यक्ततत्त्वसारः सत्ताया आलोकः लोकः” इति सिद्धान्तसूत्रं लोकपदस्य स्वरूपलक्षणाधायकं कथं न भवेत् । तस्य लोकस्य प्रतिष्ठा च “विश्वंपुष्टं ग्रामेऽस्मिन्ननातुरम्” आदि वैदिकवाक्येभ्यः आरभ्याद्यावधि नूतनचिन्तनपरंपरापर्यन्तं परिलभ्यते । सा खलु लोकप्रतिष्ठा किमस्माभिः परमाद्वैताव्यक्तादृष्टस्य निर्विकल्पस्य सत्तासाधन एव विस्मृतेत्यस्माकमितिहासचेतनायाः विषयः भवतु ।

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अत्र त्विदमेव विजिज्ञासितव्यं वर्तते यल्लोकपदस्यास्माकं परम्परायां कीदृश्याकांक्षा वर्तते । तत्र लोकपदम् ऋग्वेदे यज्ञपुरुषस्य कृतिकल्पनारूपत्वेन “तथा लोकाऽ कल्पयन्निति”^१ पुरुषसूक्तमंत्रेण पलभ्यते । उपनिषत्सु च लोकपदेन “भुवनानि” इति एकोऽर्थः “जनाः” इति द्वितीयोऽर्थोऽवगम्यते । ततश्च जीवाः जगच्च जनाः जानपदाः पीराः पुराणिवेति द्रष्टृदृश्य भोक्तृभोग्यादि विभागद्वयेन संयुक्तं समंजसं पूर्णतां संप्राप्तमेव “ओं पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदम्” इत्यादि मंत्रेषु “अदः” “इदम्” आदि पदैरवबोध्यते लोकरूपत्वेन । तत एव हि सामसंबन्धिषूपनिषत्सु ऋषयः लोकचेतनां प्रत्यभिमुखाः सन्तः नानालोकानां जीवानाञ्च बाह्यमथचान्तरमोदात्यं वैलक्षण्यं वा प्रेक्षितुकामाः जीवितुकामाश्च प्रार्थयन्ते—“लोकद्वारमपावाण् पश्येम त्वा वयं राज्याय इति”^२ ।

उपनिषत्सु तु आत्मनोऽपि एतावदेव माहात्म्यं यत् स आत्मा एषां लोकानाम-संभेदाय सम्यक्तयामेलनाय एव सेतुरिव विधृतिरूपेण वर्तते । तस्य च ब्रह्मरूपस्या-त्मन एवेषः प्रकाशरूपः लोकः ब्रह्मलोकत्वेन महीयते । एतावता चेदं प्रमाणपदवीमारोहति यत् प्राचीनाः ऋषयः भुवनार्थकं जीवजनार्थकं वा लोकशब्दमेवाधिकृत्य मानवजीवनस्य मानवेतरस्य च जगतः समीक्षणमकुर्वन्निति । भगवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रायश्चित्ताध्याये प्रतिपादयति यत् ‘पञ्चभूतानि’ इति एकः धातुः ‘ब्रह्म’ च अन्यः धातुः । अस्य धातुद्वयस्य मेलनेनैव सचराचरं जगदुज्जृम्भते । तत्रैतानि भूतानि लोकपदामिधेयानि ब्रह्म च आत्मपदामिधेयम् । तत्र आकाशादयः पञ्च धातवः लोकयन्ते इति लोकाः सत्यस्वरूपाः न मायाभ्रमात्मकाः । तथा च चिद्धातुरात्मापि नित्यः । तयोः नित्ययोः सहभाव एव जीवनाधायकः ।

ब्रह्मखानिलतेजांसि जलं भूश्चेति धातवः ।

इमे लोकाः एष चात्मा तस्माच्च सचराचरम् ॥ ४५ ॥

महोभूतानि सत्यानि यथात्माऽपि तथैव हि

कोऽन्यथैकेन नेत्रेण दृष्टमन्येन पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥

अयमेव च लोकः तन्त्रागमपरंपरायां प्रकाशरूपब्रह्मणः विमर्शभूतः सन् जीवजगत्भावद्वयेन स्फुरन्नेव महात्मनामुपासनाविषयत्वेन कदाचिदवर्तत । अयमेव च लोकः क्वचिद् अमरादि कोशेषु “लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षम्” इत्यादिवाक्यैः पण्डितैः भारतभूमिरूपेणापि स्मृतः वर्तते । यस्य च पीराणिकैः भूरिशः गानं कृतम्—“अहो भुवः सप्तसमुद्रवत्याः द्वीपेषु पुण्येऽवधिपुण्य मेतत्”^३ ।

तामेतां परम्परामधिकृत्यैव हि प्राचीनैः मिथ्यामानसकल्पनाजालं परिहृत्य सर्वाण्यान्वीक्ष्यादिविद्यापराणि नानाकलाविज्ञानबोधसंबर्धनपराणि शास्त्राणि

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लोकव्युत्पादनाथो ज्ञानपरम्परारूपेण प्रवर्तितानि । अतः नात्र किमपि विस्मरणीयं यदस्मिदेशे यत्किमपि पदविद्या, पदार्तविद्या, वाक्यविद्या प्रमाणविद्या चतुष्पष्टिकला-संग्रहरूपेणास्माकं समक्षं विद्यते तत्सर्वमेव लोकेनैव लोकार्थं सृष्टं वर्तते । तच्च पञ्चभूतात्मकं स्यात् पञ्चजनसेवितहोत्रात्मकं यज्ञात्मकं स्यादथवा पञ्चदेवपरा पञ्चदेवार्चा ऽथवा तत्रैवांगभूता पञ्चमुण्डी नवमुण्डी आदि साधनपरंपरा वा स्यात् तत्सर्वमेवास्माकं लोकमीमांसांगभूतं भवतु । यतोहि लोक एवाऽयमस्माकं ध्रुवम् । तद्ध्रु परित्यज्या-ध्रुवनिषेवणं नैव श्रवांकालीनः भारतीयपरंपरायां पारतन्त्र्ययदन्यदारिद्र्यादि दोषाणां समावेशोऽभूदिति ।

तदिथमस्माकं मीमांसायां जीवजगदुभयरूपा लोकमीमांसा प्रवर्तयितुं शक्या तथा चोभयोः संग्रहणमेवास्माकं प्रेक्षकाणामभिरुचितम् । तथापि प्रामुख्येन लोकसंग्रहेत्य-भिस्थानेन लोकैः लोकार्थमेव सृज्यमानायां भारतीय चिन्तनपरंपरायां पारलौकिकं प्रति मोहविसृज्येहलोकव्यवस्थापनपराणां शास्त्राणामनुशीलनेन वर्तमान लोकजीवनमत्य-वेक्षणेन च काचित् सम्यगन्विता धर्मार्थकाममोक्ष विषयण्याकांक्षा जनेषु दीप्ता भवेत् इति कथं नाभीप्सितं स्यात् । शास्त्राणि लोकार्थमिहोपदिष्टानीति कृत्वा शास्त्रलोकयोः विरोधश्च परिहरणीयपक्षतां यतु ।

शास्त्रं हि शासनानुशासनशंसनपरं समष्टिभूतायाः लोकचेतनायाः सारभूतत्वे-नैवार्थमतिभिराचार्यैरुद्धृतम् लोकोपकारकत्वेन सार्थकतामावहति परस्परं भावनशीलानां जनानां श्रेयःप्राप्त्यर्थमभ्युदयचोपदिशति । यच्चोपनिषत्सु निर्दिष्टम्-“ त्रयोधर्मस्कन्धाः यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानम्”^{१६} तत्र लोकधारणहेतुत्वेनैव धर्मस्य धर्मत्वम् । अत एवचोत्पीडितानां जनानां परिरक्षणाय लोकोत्सादनहेतुभूतानां दुष्कृतां चोत्सादनार्थाय मनुष्येष्वेव रुद्रनृसिंहयोः प्रादुर्भाविकल्पना न विस्मृता पौराणिकैः—

दुर्बलाः यत्र पीड्यन्ते रुद्रस्तत्र प्रजायते ।

प्रह्लादः सहर्ता क्लेशान् नृसिंह केन वार्यते ॥

स एव धर्मः स्मृत्यादिशास्त्रेषु जैनबौद्ध सिक्खपरंपरायां वा युगधर्मानुसारतः लोकैः परिष्कृत्याद्यावधि अनुसृतः इति युक्तमेव । तस्य धर्मस्यैव विधायकशक्तिः उपजीव्य लोकधर्मं कुलधर्मजातिधर्मादिरूपेण परःशतेषूपधर्मेषु सततं विचारणा कृता । तस्यैव च भगवद्गीतायां लोकोपकारकांगत्वेन लोसंग्रहादिपदैः विमर्शनं कृतम् । विश्वस्मिन्लोके कर्ममाहात्म्यप्रतिपादनपरेण श्रीकृष्णेनार्जुनायाःऽऽदिष्टं यत्तदतीव महत्त्वपूर्णम्—

सक्ताः कर्मण्यविदवांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।

कुर्याद् विद्वांस्तथासक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥^{१७}

अत्रलोकसंग्रहस्याथ आचार्यशंकरेण लोकस्योन्मार्गप्रवृत्तिनिवारणं कृतः न तु प्रवृत्तिमार्ग-

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भ्रंशः । अयं प्रवृत्तिमार्ग एव धर्मसंगतो भूत्वाऽस्याः मानवमृत्या योगक्षेमावहः इति लोकमान्याः कर्मयोगपरायणाः बालगंगाधरतिलकमहोदयाः । एवं च कर्मवादस्य माहात्म्याऽवलोकनपरैरस्माभिः संग्रहपदस्यापि लोकानां सम्यक्त्वेन समन्वितत्वेन संक्षेपतया सारभूतत्वेन ग्रहणं धारणं ज्ञानमित्यादयोऽर्थाः कालधर्मपिक्षया यथायथं विवेचनीयाः भवितुमर्हन्ति ।

“संग्रहपद” व्याख्यानविषये मनुः कथयति यत् केनापि राज्ञा यदि राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहः करणीयः स्यात् तदा तेन राष्ट्रस्याभिवृद्धये सामादीनां चतुर्णामुपायानां मध्यात्सामदण्डावेव प्रयोक्तव्यौ । यथा क्षेत्रे धान्यतृणादिकयोः सहोत्पन्नयोरपि धान्यानि लवनकर्त्ता रक्षति तृणादिकं चोद्धरति एवं नृपतिः अपि राष्ट्रसंग्रहं कामयमानः दण्डेन दुष्टान् हन्यात् शिष्टसहितं च लोकं रक्षेत् । एवं च मनुः राष्ट्रसंग्रहाय बहु-उपाय-निर्देशनं कृत्वा स्वल्पमपि लोकोत्पीडनं राष्ट्रायाहितकरं मत्वा सामोपायेन राष्ट्रसंग्रह-कर्मणि राजानं नियुञ्जन्नेवंकथयति—

राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहे नित्यं विधानमिदमाचरेत् ।
सुसंगृहीतराष्ट्रे हि पार्थिवः सुखमेधते ॥
तत्र संग्रहः इति रक्षास्थानमिति कुलूकभट्टाः ॥

तत्रोपनिषत्प्रतिपादितस्य पूर्वोक्तस्य धर्मस्य यज्ञस्तु प्रथमः स्कन्धः । स यज्ञः संकल्पमूलत्वात्काममाश्रित्य प्रवर्तते । अर्थस्य गतिमूलत्वात् समान-अन्नजलवितरण-व्यवस्थामूलत्वात् च स यजमानस्यार्थमात्रमाश्रित्य प्रवर्तते । अत एव च-एकाकी ग्रधं भुङ्क्ते यो पचत्यात्मकारणादित्यादितः प्रतिदिनं क्रियमाण देवातिथ्यादिपंचयज्ञ-पालनपर्यन्तमर्थस्यैव वितरणप्रयोजनम् । तत्रैव च दानस्यापि महत्त्वं लोकजीवनपरमेव । तद्दानं न केवलं स्वस्वत्वापहारपूर्वकं परस्वत्वोपादानमात्रमपितु तस्य विशुद्धं स्वरूप-मस्माकं पाश्चात्यनीतिशास्त्ररक्षणपरैः विद्वद्भिः पौनःपुन्येनावलोकनीयम् । तच्च महाभारते—

“दातव्यमिति यद्दानं दीयतेऽनुष्कारिणे ।
देशेकाले च पात्रे तद्दानं सात्त्विकं विदुः ।
दरिद्रान्भरकौन्तेय मा प्रयच्छेस्वरेधनम् ।
व्याधितस्योषधं पथ्यं नीरुजस्य किमोषधैः” ॥
सैषा दानस्य लोकपरा मीमांसा ।

लोकसंग्रहप्रसंग एव श्रीकृष्णेन परंपरायाः स्वरूपमपि स्पष्टीकृतं वर्तते । सा परंपरा न खलु मूढानामन्धेनैव नीयमानान्धपरंपरा । सा तूदात्तचरितानां लोकसंग्रहस-क्षमाणां महात्मनामावरणं प्रमाणीकृत्येतरजनैराचारमार्गानुवर्तनम् । सा तु भायां रतानां प्रकाशोपासनपराणां भारतीयानामन्योन्यानुसरणमूला गतिधर्मिता वा । यतोहि—

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यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरोजनः

स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ।¹²

तां पुण्यपरंपरामाश्रित्य भारतीयैः पूर्वाचार्यैः धर्मार्थकामानां सामंजस्यं हृदि निधाय योग्योपभोगयुक्तस्य मानवजीवनस्य सर्वत्र समर्थनं कुतम् महाभारतादिषु—

“धर्मार्थकामाः सममेव सेव्याः

यो ह्येकसेवी स जनो जघन्यः” ॥

अत्र धर्मो हि धृतिमूलकः लोकान्धारयति । स च लौकिकः प्रकृत्यंगभूतः भूतानामोचित्यविधायकः सन्नेवास्माकं सौन्दर्यमीमांसायाः रससृष्टिकल्पनायां भूमिभूतः । तत्र च ऋधातुमूलकः अर्थश्च लोकजीवनाय प्रदर्शयति यतोहि “अर्थेनैव क्रियाः सर्वाः” इति शास्त्रवचनम् । ततश्च कन् दीप्तिविति का तिसौन्दर्यार्थमूलकः कामः आनन्दसागरतरंगपरंपराभिः आन्दोलयति सर्वान् जीवानित्यपि शास्त्रवचनम् ।

तत्र एतस्यैव त्रिवर्गस्य नाट्यादिकलाभिरहरहः प्रतिपादनीयस्य भारतीय लोकपरम्परायां रामचरितरूपेणोपासनं क्रियते । अथ च यदि श्रीरामचरिते शक्तिशीलसौन्दर्याणां कोऽप्यभिनवः समन्वयः संदृश्यते तर्हि वैष्णवानां “रामो विग्रहवान् धर्मः” निजितागणितकदम्बः रामः “लोकाराधनलीनः रामः” इत्यादिवचनानि नितरां सार्थकानि ।

भारतीयचिन्तनपरम्परायां विष्णोः दशावतारकल्पनायां सर्वत्रैव लोकचरितप्राधान्येनैतादृशं लोकदर्शनमजायत येनाद्यावधि स्वातन्त्र्यसंग्रामपर्यन्तमस्माभिः सर्वोदयादि रामराज्यादि राष्ट्रदर्शनपरिकल्पनायां सर्वं सम्यक् रूपेण सुरक्षितम् । तस्य लोकाध्यक्षस्य विष्णोरद्यापि लोकैः एवं च स्मरणं क्रियते—

ब्रह्मण्यं सर्वधर्मज्ञं लोकानां कीर्तिवर्धनम् ।

लोकनाथं महद्भूतं सर्वभूतभवोद्भवम् ।¹³

एवमेव च शाक्तैरपि “सा चण्डिकाऽखिलजगत्परिपालनाय नाशाय चाशुभभयस्य मर्तिं करोतु” एवम् “वार्ता च सा हि जगतां परमार्तिहन्त्री” आदि परःसहस्रैः वचनैः भगवत्याऽपि लोकाराधनपरायणत्वं प्रतिपादितम् । तैश्च शाक्तैः संघशक्तिभूतायां दुर्गावतरणकल्पनायां शैवैश्च शक्तिचक्रसंधारणावधारणायामथ च बौद्धैः “धम्म” “संघ” एवं च प्राणिमात्राय निर्वाणमुखकल्पनायां लोकसंग्रहमेवोपजीव्य चेष्टितम् ।

तथा च सिक्खसिद्धान्ते शास्त्रशस्त्रबलयोरर्चनपरायां परम्परायामपि सर्वलोकहित संरक्षणमेव साध्यभूतं वर्तते । तत्र च दशमगुरुणा स्वात्मसिद्धिमूलकं लोकातीतं मोक्षमार्गं परित्यज्याकालपुरुषस्याज्ञयाऽधर्मपथपतितानां क्रूरानां शूरम्मन्यानां

भारतीयपरम्परायां लोकसंग्रहपदमीमांसनम्

विधाताय दीनानां दलितानां च परित्राणाय शस्त्रग्रहणं कृतम् । अत्र च केषांचित् इस्लाममतानुयायिनां सूफीतत्त्वचिन्तकानां गान्धर्वश्वनिविशेषज्ञानां तानसेन प्रमुखानां अब्दुलरहीम आदि दानशूराणां भक्तानां तथा च खीष्टमतानुयायिनामपि केषांचित् सेवा-धर्मकीर्तिनां यशस्विनां महात्मनां सर्वं योगदानमपि बहुजनसुखायाथच लोकाराधनायैवा-वर्तत ।

परंचाधुनिक भारतीय जीवनपरम्परायां धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां न कोऽपि वर्तमानानुकूलः सर्वलोकग्राह्यः व्याख्याविशेषउपलभ्यते । ततः कथमद्य भारतीय-लोकजीवने सा लोकसंग्रहभावधारा क्षीणतां याता । कथं च प्रायश एव जनाः स्वार्थ-निष्ठतामनधिकृत संपत्तिभोगमेवोन्नतिपदं मन्यमानाऽधिकाधिकं नानामानसरोर्गैः परिक्लिश्यमानाः परितः दृश्यन्ते इति पुनरपि विचारणीयम् । तत्रचैतादृशी जिज्ञासा-ऽस्माकं मनसि संजायते यत्कथं न भारतीयमूलदृष्ट्यनुसारमस्माकीना काऽपि नूतना राजनीति-अर्थनीति-कामनीति-उद्बोधका लोकव्यवस्था पाश्चात्यप्रभावविकृत परप्रत्ययनेय-बुद्धितां परित्यज्योद्धरणीया । अतः लोकचेतनामभिमुखीकृत्यास्माभिः काचिद् भारतीय अध्यात्ममीमांसा, ज्ञानमीमांसा नीतिमीमांसा पदपदार्थमीमांसा रसमीमांसा कथं न चोद्धर्तुं शक्या नवयुगोन्मेषप्रसंगेन ?

उद्धरण सूचिका

1. यजुर्वेद अ० 16 मं० 48
2. ऋग्वेद, दशममण्डल; सूक्त 90 मं० 15
3. बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् 1—1—1
4. छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् 2—24—4
5. छान्दोग्य उ० 8—4—1
6. अथो जगती लोको विष्टपं भुवनं जगत् ।
“लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षम्” अमरकोष, काण्ड-2—भूमिवर्ग । “लोकस्तु भुवने जने” अमरकोष काण्ड 3 नानार्थवर्ग ।
7. श्रीमद्भागवत 5—6—13
8. छान्दोग्य उ०, 2—23—1
- 9.
10. श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, 3—25
11. श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, 17—20
12. श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, 3—21
- 13.
14. विष्णुसहस्रनाम, श्लोक 7
15. सप्तशती, अध्याय 5

SECTION-II

Psychology

J. Mandal
&
P. K. Sutradhar

.. Personality Characteristics of Socially
Disadvantaged and Advantaged Children
and their Relative Academic Achievements.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED AND ADVANTAGED CHILDREN AND THEIR RELATIVE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

J. Mandal & P. K. Sutradhar

Abstract

Indian adopted CAT (Chowdhury, 1961) was used to assess the personality characteristics of 100 Socially Disadvantaged Children, who were class-IV, Bengali-speaking, male-students within the age-group ranging from 9 to 11 years. The relative Academic Achievements of the Children were also considered on the basis of their school-examination performances. The variables were compared with the same of a matched group of Socially Advantaged children. A significant difference was noticed between the experimental and control groups in respect of Academic Achievement ($t=12.23$, $p/.01$) the former group being relatively low-achiever. The CAT findings documented weak-ego-strength of the Socially Disadvantaged Children who were marked by a hostile and punitive attitudes towards their parents, sibs and outer world. They were found to harbour result, they took recourse to escapism and withdrawal symptoms. The advantaged children, on the other hand, were marked by a sense of adequacy in their ego strength, and were found to be disposed with with a friendly attitude towards their parents, sibs and outer world. The basic emotional mood of the Disadvantaged children was noted as depressed coupled with a feeling of helplessness vis-a-vis the Advantaged group were devoid of depressive trends and were optimistic in outlook.

Introduction

Numerous investigations (Eysenck, 1947; Jamar, 1961; Child, 1964; Sinha, 1973; and Krishnan, 1977; Mandal & Sengupta, 1986) have amply documented that personality factors play significant role in academic achievement. But in spite of the vital importance of personality in determining the direction of human behaviour and in learning machanisms its role has not yet been adequately probed into so far as educational attainments of children in our country are concerned.

Experience tells us that in India the number of Children deprived

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of formal schooling facilities are assuming higher proportions, and the percentage of drop-outs is also increasing; presumably certain disadvantageous conditions standing in the way to fulfilment of physical and psychological needs may be described as reasons. Researches (Frankol, 1960; Chopra, 1966; and Werner *et al*, 1968) and news reports in the 'Daily Press' have diversely pointed out to the fact that these children generally belong to low socio-economic status, and are, therefore, reared up and processed in an impoverished environment (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1958; Doughles, 1964). As such, it may ostensibly be expected that these children will have certain thwarted personality development having its reflections on the self-concept (Whiteman and Deutsch, 1968), educational competence (Schooler, 1972), and learning and conceptualisation (Birren and Hess, 1968).

From a number of other research findings also, we have noted that low socio-economic status is associated with more emotional maladjustment and greater behaviour problems (Sarojini, 1971) and greater anxiety (Rajlaxmi and Sharma, 1977). Further emotional maladjustment has been found to engender untoward effect on academic achievements (Chazan, 1959; Sinha, 1970, and many others).

The aim of the present study, in the above perspective, has been to explore the personality characteristics of Socially Disadvantaged Children *peripassu* their academic performances and compare the outcome with a matched control group of Socially Advantaged Children.

METHOD

Subjects :—100 Socially disadvantaged Children—50 from the Urban setting, and 50 from the rural setting—constituted the experimental group. Another group of 100 advantaged Children (50 Urban and 50 rural) were taken as the control group. All the subjects were class-IV Bengali-Speaking male students belonging to the age range of 9-11 years. The selection of the subjects was done by the process of randomization.

Tools Used

- (a) To investigate the personality characteristics of the subjects, a modified form of Bellak's (1954) Children's Apperception Test

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED AND ADVANTAGED CHILDREN AND THEIR RELATIVE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENTS (CAT), adapted to Indian Cultural context by Dr. U. Choudhury (1961), was used. This test was based on projective technique. In India, CAT was used by Hota (1978) to see the impact of sub-culture on some personality traits like anxiety level, conflicting tendencies, attitudes etc.

(b) For academic achievement scores, school examination marks were considered (Gupta, 1973). The total aggregate marks obtained by the students in the half-yearly and annual school examination in their previous class i.e. Class-III (the subjects at present being Class-IV students) were collected from their schools. The mean scores of these two examinations (half-yearly and annual) were converted into percentage and were considered as the final academic achievement scores for the study.¹

Procedure

Before administration of CAT, rapport was established with all the subjects. CAT was administered to all of them individually. The CAT—Cards (pictures) were shown to each of them, one by one and they were asked to write stories about what was seen in the picture, what was going on; what they were doing; what went on before; and what would happen later. Accordingly, the children wrote stories on each card. All the side remarks and activities were noted by the investigator. The responses thus obtained were interpreted after Bellak (1954). For this purpose, analysis sheet meant for CAT was used. For interpretational convenience, after Hota (1978), we obtained scores in terms of frequencies for all the Children in each category of the personality characteristics. The frequencies thus obtained were then added and converted into percentage to see

1. Socially Disadvantaged Children: Low SES (Parents are illiterate and characterised by educational gap for at least three years; they pursue stereotype traditional family occupations requiring minimum intellectual exercise, average per capital income Rs. 50 per month).

Socially Advantaged Children: High SES (Parents are educated, educational pursuits have been continuing in the family for at least three generations, and the parents pursue occupations requiring precision and intellectual exercise, average per capital income Rs. 150 p.m.).

Kuppuswamy's (1962) SES scale was used. Advantaged and Disadvantaged categorization was done after the major findings of researches made by Riessman (1962), Jensen (1973) and Sinha (1978).

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how many of the total Children of a group belonged to a particular category of personality characteristics.

The statistic—'t' test was applied to see the level of significance of difference between the academic performances of the advantaged and disadvantaged children.

TABLE 1

Mean scores (X) of academic achievement with S.D. of Socially advantaged (SAC) and disadvantaged (SDC) Children, and the corresponding value of the statistic 't' with d.f.

	SAC	SDC	Mean difference	Value of 't'	d.f.
Academic Achievement	$X_1=61.30$ S.D.=12.72	$X_2=40.24$ S.D.=11.77	(X_1-X_2) =21.06	12.23**	196

**P. < .01

It is evident from Table-1 that the socially advantaged and disadvantaged children differ significantly in respect of their academic achievement ($t=12.23$, $P<.01$). The advantaged children are found to be relatively high achievers; and the disadvantaged children relatively low achievers. Our finding is corroborated with the findings of many others e.g. Goldstein (1965), Sinha (1978) and Rath *et al* (1979).

TABLE 2

Percentage of Socially advantaged and disadvantaged Children falling in the different Categories of "Unconscious structure" and "drives".

Unconscious Structure			Drives		
Categories	SAC	SDC	Categories	SAC (In %)	SDC (In %)
Adequate	50%	6%	Oral	78%	96%
Autonomous	62%	12%	Autonomy	88%	56%
Disobedient	4%	46%	Aggression	14%	84%
Rejected	10%	68%	Security	78%	96%
			and Protection		
			Love of mother	26%	56%

It is observed from the findings (Table-2) that 50% of the socially advantaged children feel adequate in their ego-strength. But this sense of adequacy is conspicuously absent in the case of 94% of the socially dis-

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advantaged children. The finding adumbrates that the advantaged children who have been found to be relatively high achievers have the ability to deal with any circumstance whatsoever. They have the ability to carry the tasks under external and internal difficulties in a socially, morally, intellectually and emotionally acceptable manner (Bellak, 1954). Rickard (1973) while comparing the high achievers with the low achievers in respect of their personality found that the high achievers were more self-sufficient, self-controlled, self-relaxed and more enthusiastic.²

That the advantaged children are possessed with relatively greater sense of adequacy is also supported by other findings of the study when it is found that 62% of them in contrast to 12% of the disadvantaged children are autonomous; this implies that the advantaged children are capable of taking decisions of their own and they have more inner control which is likely to prevent them from susceptibility to extraneous tempting influences.

46% of the disadvantaged children are found to be disobedient (to their superiors). Majority of them (68%) feel themselves rejected by

TABLE 3

Percentage of (%) advantaged and disadvantaged Children falling in different categories of the factors (a) relation to father, (b) relation to mother, (c) relation to siblings and (d) conception of world.

Factors	Categories	SAC (%)	SDC (%)	Factors	Categories	SAC (%)	SDC (%)
(a) Relation to father	Nurturant	48%	4%	(b) Relation to Siblings	Friendly	39%	19%
	Friendly	72%	4%		Revalry	64%	78%
	Hostile	24%	64%		Aggressive	11%	76%
	Aggressive	14%	74%		Hostile	11%	61%
	Punishing	16%	53%				
(c) Relation to Mother	Nurturant	74%	18%	(d) Conception of World	Friendly	76%	16%
	Friendly	58%	6%		Hostile	31%	89%
	Rejecting	12%	60%		Aggressive	22%	81%
	Aggressive	4%	50%		Rivalry	22%	81%
	Hostile	6%	58%		Competitive	52%	14%
	Instructive	48%	6%				
	Protective	60%	10%				
	Rivalry	14%	44%				

2. High achievers = Securing marks more than 55%.

Low achievers = Securing marks less than 45%.

Categorization of high- and low-achievers was done in the light of Mathur (1966)

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their parents which signifies a distant and discordant parent-child relationship. Such relationship may lead to school failure among children as reported by Schonnell (1956). The disadvantaged children have comparatively more oral needs (hungry). But need for autonomy is more marked in the case of advantaged children. The disadvantaged children (low achievers), in contrast to their advantaged counterparts, have markedly high aggressive drives and their need for security and protection is also high which signifies that they are very much anxious and feel very much insecure and rejected. And presumably for this, they have a tendency to be aggressive to the parents, parent-images and society. Shanmugam (1950, 1952) found that the boys from low socio-economic status were aggressive, anxious, depressed and punished. Such boys are susceptible to become poor achievers and maladjusted (Misra, 1962).

The father-child relationship and the mother-child relationship depict the same picture (Table 3). The disadvantaged Children perceive their parents as hostile, aggressive and punishing. In contrast, the advantaged children perceive their parents as nurturant and friendly; the mothers being more instructive and protective to them. Rejection by mother and rivalry are more common to the disadvantaged children. All these findings very markedly show that the parent-child relationship in case of advantaged children is concordant and that in case of the disadvantaged is discordant.

In case of relation to siblings also, the disadvantaged children appear to be aggressive, hostile, and rivalrous in contrast to their advantaged counterparts. But it is interesting to note that rivalry attitude to the siblings is also marked in case of the advantaged children who are also found to be very much friendly to the siblings. This cultivation of friendliness and competition is presumably the basic component of need-achievement and success.

The conception of the world also appears to be more friendly and competitive to the advantaged children. To the disadvantaged children it is more hostile, aggressive and rivalrous. The nature of the conception of the world is largely influenced by the nature of parent-child relationship. Wall *et al* (1962) emphasized parent-child relationship as fundamental to the pupil's whole development. If the early parent-child relationship is discordant *i.e.* if the child perceives his parents, particularly his mother, as rejecting and punishing (hostile) instead of being nurturant and friendly, then it is not unlikely that they will perceive the

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external world as hostile and aggressive. And this has happened in the case of the socially disadvantaged children who are found to be relatively low achievers. Such Children, because of discordant and distant relationship with parents, consequently lack in parental encouragement and attitude which has been stressed as vital by psychologists like Katkovosky *et al* (1964) in the child's life and success. The parents of the advantaged children (high-achievers) on the other hand, engage in more sharing of activities, ideas; more approving and trusting, affectionate, and encouraging with respect to their ward's achievements. Such conclusion was also made by Morrow and Wilson (1961), and Shaw (1962).

TABLE 4

Percentage of Socially advantaged and disadvantaged Children, falling in different categories of the factors (a) nature of anxieties (b) Main defences used, and (c) Outcome of the Stores

(a) Nature of Anxieties			(b) Main defence used		
Categories	SAC (%)	SDC (%)	Categories	SAC (%)	SDC (%)
Physical harm	40%	92%	Regression	81%	18%
Deprivation	44%	93%	Rationalisation	42%	25%
Punishment	40%	52%	Projection	6%	37%
Desertion	16%	44%	Escaping	16%	61%
Being Over-Powered and helpless	35%	64%	Withdrawn	12%	70%
Loss of love	13%	76%			
(c) Outcome of the Stores					
Categories	SAC (%)	SDC (%)			
Happy	90%	42%			
Unhappy	10%	58%			
Unrealistic	11%	33%			
Original	83%	32%			
Stereotype	9%	32%			
Complete	92%	62%			
Inappropriate	8%	38%			

Apparently, the disadvantaged children are found to be more anxious. That the poor are more anxious has also been found by Murlidharan and Sharma (1971). The anxiety in the case of the disadvantaged children is predominantly due to deprivation, physical harm, being over powered and helpless, desertion by parents and loss of love. This anxiety is, in a

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way, supportive of their parent-child relationship (Table 3) which is sub-charged with hostility, aggression, rejection, and punishment. Such anxiety in the case of the advantaged children is less significant.

The main defenses used by the advantaged children are regression and relationalisation. The main defenses used by the disadvantaged children are withdrawal, escapism and fantasy which are indicative of weak ego-strength. As such, it is very likely that the disadvantaged boys will fail to squarely confront with challenging reality situation. In this study, not only have they been found to be relatively poor achievers (Table-1), but also to be more anxious. Feeling of inferiority, lacking in self-confidence, and withdrawal nature are well marked in them. Misra (1962) found that the poor achievers are high on anxiety and more maladjusted. The low achievers were found to have uncontrolled emotionality, feeling of inferiority in life situations and withdrawing nature (Bhatnagar, 1969).

Regarding the outcome of the stories, a healthy picture is noticed in case of the advantaged children. The outcome is predominantly happy, original, complete, and concrete or appropriate. But in the case of the disadvantaged children, the outcome is mostly unhappy, unrealistic, steriotype, and inappropriate. The outcome generally correlates well as a measure of ego-strength i.e. adequacy of the hero which is a measure of ego-strength i.e. adequacy of the hero which is already found to be poor in the case of the disadvantaged children. It may be said from such findings that the basic emotional mood of the disadvantaged children is depressed and helpless. Depression among boys of low socio-economic status was also noticed by Shanmugam (1952). The basic emotional mood in the case of advantaged children (high achievers) is cheerful and optimistic.

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SECTION-III

History & Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology

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|------------------------------------|----|--|
| Devendra Handa &
Mohinder Singh | .. | Another Yaudheya Sealing from Naurangabad. |
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ANOTHER YAUDHEYA SEALING FROM NAURANGABAD

Devendra Handa
&
Mohinder Singh

The Yaudheyas occupy a very prominent position in the galaxy of ancient Indian republican tribes. They are known through numerous literary and a few epigraphic references, a large number of their coins, coin-moulds, seals and sealings.

It was in 1884 that A.F.R. Hoernle published a clay seal from Sunet, situated about 7 Kms. from Ludhiana Railway Station and now a suburb of the city, bearing the figure of a bull and the Brāhmī legend *Yaudeyānām Jayamantradharānām*.¹ It was from amongst the various antiquities collected from Sunet and presented to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. The seal has never been illustrated till now.

Recognizing the constitutional significance of this succinct record, K. P. Jayaswal thought that such records may have been issued in the name of the Yaudheya cabinet or executive committee.² He pointed out that the *mantradharas* were 'those vested with the policy of the state'.³ Allan interpreted the word *mantradhara* as 'councillor of victory'.⁴ Altekar observed that since the Yauheyas were "already known as Kshattriyas *par excellence*, now it began to be believed that they possessed a mystic formula (*mantra*) ensuring victory in all circumstances and against all odds".⁵ Sircar has interpreted the legend as "The seal of the Yaudheyas who were in possession of a victory charm".⁶

The word *mantra* occurs in some ancient Sanskrit texts⁷ for secret deliberations or policy matters which a ruler discussed with his ministers or councillors and on the secrecy of which depended success.⁸ The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁹ and the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰ recognize *mantra* as the source of victory. The *mantradharas* of the Yaudheya seal thus seem to have been important functionaries of the Yaudheya republic who discussed with the ruler very important policy matters and ensured the secrecy of the deliberations. As such, they must have been quite close to the ruler.

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The legend indicates that they functioned as one body. Messages, documents or objects sent by them were securely packed and sealed to ensure safety and confidentiality.

In 1970, a clay sealing with similar motif and legend from Naurangabad, about 35 kms. north-west of Rohtak on road to Bhiwani, was published by Bhagwandeva Acharya.¹¹ Four years later he published another sealing of the same type from Sunet.¹² Recently, one more clay sealing has been obtained from Naurangabad by the second author. Baked reddish brown and measuring 3.5×3.1 cm., this oval sealing (Fig. 1) bears the Brāhmī legend in two lines in the upper half and a beautifully carved humped bull trotting to right below. It bears string and knot depressions on the back indicating that the document/object sent by the Yaudheya *mantradharas* was securely packed to ensure secrecy.

All the sealings referred to above may be assigned to *circa* third century A.D. on palaeographic grounds even though they show slight differences in the form of characters, the number of lines covered by the legend, the shape of the sealing and the depiction of the bull. Taking into consideration the extreme rarity of these sealings, the importance of the piece published here cannot be overstated.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LIII (1884), pp. 137 ff.
2. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Bangalore, 1955, p. 145.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
4. John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, p. clii.
5. A. S. Altekar in *Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, Delhi, 1954, p. 28.
6. *Age of Imperial Unity*, 3rd ed., Bombay, 1960, pp. 166-67.
7. *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. R. P. Kangle) I. 15, 20 and X. 6, 51; *Manu Smṛiti* VII 147-48; *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* I. 343 etc.
8. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (JNSI)*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 137-38.
9. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, 100. 16 : *Mantra Vijaya-mūlaṁ hi rājñām bhavati Rāghava.*
10. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā Parva, 5.27: *Vijayo mantra-mūlo hi rājñām bhavati Bhārata.*
11. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 155, pl. V. 2.
12. Swami Omanand Saraswati, *Ancient Seals of Haryana*, Jhajjar, 197, No. 80,

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Yaudheya Sealing from Naurangabad

THE ARYA SAMAJ FOUNDATION CHENNAI

THE ARYA SAMAJ FOUNDATION CHENNAI

THE PUNJAB DISTRESS OF 1883-84 : A PROBLEM OF HIGH PRICES AND SOCIAL TUMULTS

Navtej Singh

The developed means of irrigation and communication by the British in the Punjab helped in increasing the agricultural production as well as the movement of foodgrains from one place to another. But it did not help the real owners of the produce, i.e. the cultivators. The net-work of trade in foodgrains was in the hands of the village *Shahukars*, who were commonly known as the *banias*. They purchased the food-stocks from the indebted peasants during the harvest times at very low prices. In some cases they even financed the cultivation of wheat, cotton and sugarcane to procure the process of fixation of prices. They took everything from the threshing floors during harvesting except a small portion for the peasants. These grain-dealers used to sell their stocks of grains to the traders from other provinces of India as well as from Britain and its colonies in Europe to fetch more profits. As a result, whenever there was a drought and consequently failure of harvests, they used to hoard the available stocks and raise the prices at least thrice of their normal value. This artificially-raised prices compelled the poor farmers either to borrow the same grain that they produced at much higher prices or go to relief works or face starvation. However, in some districts of the Punjab where the rains were generally favourable a few big peasant proprietors also used to sell the stocks available with them. This however, was only in some cases of Ludhiana and Jullundur districts. Sometimes, the outside traders came to the Punjab and increased the demand for foodgrains especially wheat which also resulted in bringing artificial scarcity of food. This always resulted in high prices and affected the lower strata of society. As such, the Province of Punjab had to grapple many times with the problem of high prices which led to disturb the society in several ways. The present paper concentrates on the distress of 1883-84 in regard to its origin and consequences.

In December, 1883, a severe scarcity was felt in the west, south-

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west and the south-east districts of the Punjab. But the intensity of distress was mainly confined to the districts of Ambala, Gurgaon, Karnal, Delhi, Hissar, Sirsa and Rohtak.¹ However, a great mortality among cattle caused considerable anxiety in the districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Montgomery and Multan.²

Throughout the tract the rainfall of 1883 had been much below the average.³ The Kharif crop promised well up to the middle of July, 1883, but a break in the rains lasted for six weeks from the middle of July till the beginning of September. As a result, large parts of the crop withered away. A heavy and general fall of rain in the first week of September saved some of it, but the out-turn of the produce came out to be very poor. The September rain, however, enabled a considerable area to be sown for *rabi* but the winter season was rainless, and by March, 1884, the unirrigated crops had almost wholly perished.⁴ In the great part of the tract the previous harvests had been poor⁵ and the exports of foodgrains further depleted the stocks.⁶ At this time came the report of a deficient wheat harvest from the United States on which the British consumers largely depended. Consequently, the Punjab wheat trade assumed a position of importance in 1881-82 which continued throughout the 1880's.⁷ As a result prices shot up⁸ and scarcity prevailed. Great anxiety was felt due to shortage of fodder, resulting in the death of a considerable number of cattle. However, the situation was averted from turning into a severe famine by the heavy rainfall at the end of July, 1884, that helped in furnishing an ample supply of grass and in sowings of the next crop.⁹

In Delhi district the distressed area was confined to the west of the Balbgarh tahsil and the south-west of the Delhi tahsil adjoining Gurgaon and Rohtak districts. The rainfall for the past year had been much below the average. There was a six weeks' break from 18th July to 3rd September followed by sufficient rain in the district. But there had been no rain since September. The harvests had been very poor since *rabi*, 1882. A greater portion of the kharif crop withered by August and the rain which fell in September was not sufficient for the *rabi* sowings. As a result, the *rabi* crops had totally failed in unirrigated lands.¹⁰

The scarcity was very severe in Gurgaon district and was confined to the Nuh tahsil and Punahana bangar. The district suffered greatly from the scarcity of fodder. The previous harvests were very poor and

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the district had not recovered from the great loss of 1877-78 famine. The Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon wrote that "he visited portions of the Gurgaon and Rewari tahsils. In parts of the Hathin and Punahana paraganas the people appeared to be badly off, and a large number of Meos had left their houses in search of work. Fodder was very scarce and the people had used up most of the *kikar* and *raungh* loppings".¹²

In Sirsa district the scarcity of fodder was very great. Prices of foodgrains rose high because of the failure of rain-fall and the continued export to the Gurgaon district and the part of Karachi.¹³

The distress in Hissar district was confined to the south and east of the district. Failure of rains and the exports led to high prices. Fodder was selling at a very high rate. The pressure of scarcity was felt in Barwala, Hissar, Fatehabad, Bhiwani and Hansi. Cattle from Barwala were being sent to Patiala, Bikaner and to the grazing grounds in the *terai*. Most of the people sold them at cheap rates. A considerable number of menials left their villages in the northern part of Barwala to work on the Sirhind canal.¹⁴

In Rohtak district the scarcity was so severe that "many were reduced for a time to one short meal, while others subsisted on the pickings from the fields after the corn had been cut. The *barwa flower* (*Copparis aphylla*) found in abundance in the jungles helped some to eke out their scanty supplies."¹⁵ Cattle were being fed on branches of trees cut up and mixed with old jowar. Large number of them were sold at nominal prices to *banjaras* and *butchers*, while considerable number of them were sold at Jehazgarh fair and there was tendency among people to get rid of cattle. It was reported that there were so many cattle for sale at the fair that the demand was less and consequently prices of cattle fell down. While there was no grass and the people were grubbing up roots and feeding the cattle on leaves, yet much old fodder was being exported from Rohtak and Sampla tahsils towards Delhi by *banias* and speculators as it fetched a better price there.¹⁶

The area of distress in Karnal district was confined to the west of the western Jamna canal.¹⁷ The tahsils of Kharar and Naraingarh of the Ambala district suffered great loss of cattle as a result of the scarcity of fodder.¹⁸

The main characteristic of this scarcity was the failure of fodder

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crop resulting in cattle mortality. A large number of cattle migrated to areas where grass or fodder was available and a major part of them never returned.¹⁹ The destruction of cattle had been severe in the districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Multan, Montgomery and parts of the Hissar division, particularly of Hissar and Rohtak districts. In Dera Ghazi Khan 50,000 head of cattle died in 1883-84; while in Dera Ismail Khan one-third of all the cattle in the *Thal* and a full half of those in the *Daman* lands had perished.²⁰ In Karnal district 26,200 cattle died of starvation and disease; while 76,500 head of cattle migrated to the Jamuna side. This amounted to 44 percent of the total number of cattle before migration commenced. Of this 24 percent or 18,200 were said to have died.²¹ In the Balagarh tahsil of Delhi district about 5,000 cattle had migrated.²² But the total number of cattle deaths are not available since the Government kept no proper records. Similar is the case with human mortality.

Migration of people from affected territory to the areas of work or food actively took place during this scarcity. In Karnal district 30,300 people left their houses, while in Gurgaon district some Meos left their houses.²³ Thirteen *Biswadars* of Jhajjar (in Karnal district) with their families and live-stock left their homes and went away towards Sirsa in search of railway employment.²⁴ The figures for other districts are not available, though a considerable number of people migrated.

There occurred an increase in crime against property as thefts, robberies and dacoities showed an upward trend.²⁵

Moneylenders, rich persons and owners of substantial houses in towns and villages took the opportunity to repair old houses and built new ones as labour was cheap and plentiful.²⁶

While the scarcity of grain and fodder affected the poor including artisans, labourers and peasants; the *bantias* or grain-dealers, big peasants and fodder traders benefited from the opportunity by selling their commodities at a high rate. They hoarded stocks of grain and fodder but sent the same to those places where they expected higher profits.²⁷

Thus, the Punjab distress of 1883-84 severely affected a number of districts like Ambala, Gurgaon, Karnal, Delhi, Hissar, Sirsa, Rohtak, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Montgomery and Multan. But

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the lack of fodder and high prices of foodgrains affected the population throughout the province. The distress was the culmination of human factors. The drought situation was converted into famine by hoarding of available foodstocks and sending it to other places to get more profits by the *baniyas*. In fact the enormous amount of grains that were being exported in the 1880's made the people vulnerable to famines only, which were bound to occur because of the failure of rains and consequently of harvests. The second characteristic of the problem was the extreme shortage of fodder which was the consequence of drought as well the stocking of available one by the traders. The extremely high prices and the shortage of fodder led to increase the sufferings of the people. Although no starvation deaths were reported as the duration of the distress was short, yet a large number of people along with their cattle migrated to areas of work or food. A considerable number of cattle died of starvation that affected the peasant economy but it gave profit to those who were engaged in hide trade. Another consequence was increase in crimes as thefts and robberies became common. The degree of distress varied according to the economic status as the distress was the problem of high prices and not food which was available in the market but at high prices. The *shahukars*, grain-dealers, big peasants and the persons engaged in hide trade benefited from the calamity; while the artisans, labourers and the poor peasants were pushed into indebtedness and fell victim to the clutches of the moneylenders. The colonial system only served the interests of the middlemen while the real owners of the produce were becoming poorer and that accounted for their vulnerability to any famine or scarcity that prevailed in the province during the colonial era.

FOOT NOTES

1. *Agricultural Distress in the Punjab, Proceedings Revenue and Agriculture Department*, Famine B, July, 1884, Nos. 4-6; *Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1898*, Para 12, p. 6 (Hereafter, *Prog. Rev. & Ag.* and *FCR*, 1898, respectively).
2. *Punjab Revenue Administration Report*, 1883-84, Para 1, P. 1.
3. For Rainfall fluctuation, see Table 1.
4. *Progs. Rev. & Ag.*, Famine B, July, 1884, Nos. 4-6; *FCR*, 1898, Para 13, P. 7.
5. *Ibid.* The character of fine harvests with the *rabi* of 1884 was as follows : (in

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terms of fractions of a rupee, 16 annas representing on average harvest)

	1882		1883		1884	
	Rabi	Kharif	Rabi	Kharif	Rabi	Kharif
	As	As	As	Ar	As	As
Delhi	12	18	16	5	4	—
Karnal	4	8	8	3	4	—
Gurgaon	4	12	12	5	8	—
Hissar	12	8	8	4	8	—
Rohtak	12	8	8	3	4	—

(Progs. Rev. & Ag, Famine B, July, 1884, Nos. 4-6).

6. *The Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore) dated 27th Aug. 1883 wrote that "export of grain by European traders resulted in the scarcity of grain. Prices had risen considerably; wheat which was selling at 34 or 35 seers/rupee now was available at 17 or 18 seers/rupee". Similar views have been expressed by *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (Bahawalpur) dated 23rd Aug. 1883, *Selection from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab, etc.* during the year 1883-84. (Hereafter SNNPP during the relevant year).
7. For export of foodgrains, see Table 2.
8. For prices of cereals, see Table 3.
9. *Letter No. 16*, dated 19th Jan. 1885 from *George Smith, Esquire, Deputy Commissioner, Delhi to The Commissioner and Superintendent Delhi Division, Progs. Rev. & Ag. Famine B, July, 1884, Nos. 4-6.*
10. *Letter No. 274*, dated Delhi, 16th May, 1885, from *J. W. Macnabb, Esquire, Commissioner & Superintendent, Delhi Division, to The Senior Secretary to Financial Commissioner, Punjab, Prog. Rev. & Ag., Famine A, Sept. 1885, Nos. 3-4.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Memorandum by A. W. Stagdon, Esquire, Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon*, dated 17th Nov. 1884; *Progs. Rev. & Ag., Famine A, Sept. 1885, Nos. 3-4.*
13. *Agricultural Distress in the Punjab, op. cit.*
14. *Scarcity in the Punjab, 1883-84, Progs. Rev. & Ag., Famine A, Sept. 1885, Nos. 3-4.*
15. *Agricultural Distress in Punjab, op. cit.*
16. *Progs. Rev. & Ag., Famine A, Sept. 1885, Nos. 3-4.*
17. *Letter No. 97*, dated 6th May, 1885, from *A. S. Roberts, Esquire, Deputy Commissioner, Karnal, to The Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, Progs. Rev. & Ag., Famine B, July, 1884, Nos. 4-6.*
18. *Agricultural Distress in Punjab, op. cit.*
19. *Punjab Land Revenue Administration Report, 1883-84, Para 3, p. 2.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Letter No. 274*, dated Delhi, 16th May, 1885, *op. cit.*
22. *Letter No. 16* dated 19th Jan. 1885, from *George Smith, Esquire, Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, to The Commissioner and Superintendent of Delhi Division, Progs. Rev. & Ag., Famine A, Sept. 1885, Nos. 3-4.*
23. *Letter No. 274, op. cit.*
24. *Progs. Rev. & Ag., Famine B, July, 1884, Nos. 4-6.*
25. The total number of offences, reported in 1882 were 90,920 which rose to 95,446 in 1883, an increase of 4,526 cases; *Punjab Administration Report, 1883-84, p. 5.*
26. *Progs. Rev. & Ag., Famine B, July, 1884, Nos. 4-6.*
27. *Ibid.*

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TABLE 1

Punjab : Districtwise distribution of Rainfall compared with the Average, 1882-84.

Region/District	Average	Rainfall during		
		1882	1883	1884
The Himalayan				
Kangra	124.90	+ 5.05	—39.87	—60.05
Simla	71.24	—11.52	—15.32	—10.51
The sub-montane				
Ambala	35.14	—15.04	—16.04	+10.31
Hoshiarpur	35.28	— 6.93	—15.21	+ 7.08
Gujrat	30.27	— 7.27	— 4.07	— 8.27
Sialkot	36.85	— 6.49	— 8.61	— 9.75
The Salt Range				
Rawalpindi	31.79	+ 5.38	— 0.13	+ 4.47
Jhelum	24.64	+ 5.96	+ 5.76	— 1.09
Bannu	12.95	—30.60	+ 5.05	— 3.30
Peshawer	13.30	— 1.85	— 1.85	— 1.44
Kohat	19.50	+ 1.25	— 4.00	— 2.82
Hazara
The Eastern Plains				
Gurdaspur	31.33	+ 3.51	—13.85	+12.39
Amritsar	26.32	+ 7.08	— 2.32	— 5.22
Ferozepur	22.53	— 0.03	— 6.13	— 8.23
Jullundur	28.34	— 4.15	—18.17	— 2.84
Ludhiana	31.56	— 6.82	+ 3.60	— 3.66
Lahore	21.64	+15.79	— 0.26	— 0.22
Delhi	26.92	— 2.03	— 9.87	+ 9.93
Gurgaon	26.14	—12.26	— 7.34	+ 1.25
Karnal	29.34	— 4.44	— 7.89	+11.36
Rohtak	19.80	+ 0.06	— 3.84	— 0.84
Hissar	15.54	— 3.80	— 6.30	+ 2.17
The Western Plains				
Multan	7.07	+ 0.73	+ 1.29	— 0.41
Jhang	11.04	+ 4.16	— 6.00	— 2.94
Montgomery	10.46	+ 2.84	+ 0.94	+ 2.14
Gujranwala	25.63	— 1.63	+ 2.63	— 3.53
Shahpur	14.97	+ 8.93	+ 0.73	— 4.07
Dera Ismail Khan	8.46	+ 6.53	— 2.20	— 2.14
Dera Ghazi Khan	7.03	+ 4.63	— 5.78	— 1.64
Mujjaffargarh	5.88	+ 1.92	— 2.18	+ 1.42

Unit = Inches

+ = Increase

— = Decrease

(Source : Report on Meteorology of India, 1882, PP. 110 & 273;

Report on Meteorology of India, 1883-84, PP. 280-81).

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TABLE-2

Punjab : Imports and Exports of Foodgrains, 1881-82 to 1884-85 :

Year	Imports (in maunds)	Exports	Wheat Exports alone (in thousand maunds)
1881-82	7,085,885	5,855,895	...
1882-83	6,343,237	10,284,979	4,101
1883-84	7,474,712	13,837,532	5,187
1884-85	9,688

(Source : Punjab Administration Reports, 1882-83 and 1884-85, P. 5 and P. 3).

TABLE-3

Prices of Cereals in Gurgaon District from Aug. 1883 to Oct. 1884.

Month/Year	Wheat		Barley		Bajra		Gram		Jowar	
	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C
August, 1883	18	0	24	8	20	0	20	0	23	0
September	20	0	27	0	20	0	22	0	25	0
October	20	0	27	0	22	0	22	0	23	0
November	20	0	26	8	21	0	22	0	24	0
December	20	0	26	8	21	0	23	0	29	0
January, 1884	19	0	26	0	21	12	23	0	24	0
February	19	0	26	0	22	0	23	0	24	0
March	19	0	27	0	22	0	23	8	24	0
April	19	8	28	8	22	0	23	0	24	0
May	20	0	27	0	22	0	22	0	20	0
June	20	0	25	8	20	0	22	0	20	0
July	19	8	26	0	22	0	22	8	20	0
August	21	0	30	0	24	0	25	0	24	0
September	21	8	30	0	25	0	26	0	28	0
October	20	8	20	8	35	0	23	0	28	0

(Source : Proceedings Revenue & Agriculture, Famine A, September, 1885, Nos. 3-4).

SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS IN LATER MEDIEVAL INDIA

S. P. Sangar

Throughout ages, people's lives have been dominated by superstitious beliefs, and particularly so was the case in medieval India. The Mughal kings never started on a journey until they had received a green signal from their astrologers about the auspiciousness of the day and time. People in general were more superstitious in this respect than the rulers. They undertook a journey or any fresh work only at an auspicious moment. Good and bad omens guided their activities. The former assured a successful mission and the latter foreboded evil. The following brief study based on the observations of the contemporary Hindi poets throws an interesting light on the subject.

We get an account of the prevalence of superstitious beliefs in the 7th century from Bāṇa Bhatta, the author of *Harṣa-Chatit*. According to him, the following were unlucky omens :

While hunting in the Himalayas, Harṣa received the news of his father's illness, and, as a consequence, took a sudden decision to return to the capital. On the way he came across a number of bad omens. The deer were coming from the left side. A crow was crowing sitting on a leafless tree with his face towards the sun. A naked Sādhū with a peacock feather and a dirty body was seen coming from the front. According to the Śāstras on the subject, the above were regarded as inauspicious signs in ancient times. Bāṇa mentions sixteen kinds of events which forebode evil. Among them he mentions the following : Earthquake; rising of sea-wave to excess; seeing the comets very far in the sky or over the horizons; visibility of a torse in the halo of the sun; and of the moon within a burning circle; blood-reddish colour of the horizons; blood-rain on earth; overspreading of black clouds on all sides; terrible lightening; covering of the sun with dust; weeping of the jackals with uplifted faces; smoke-covering of images; flying of black bees near the throne; flying and crowing of crows over the palace and pouncing of an old eagle on the ruby studded in the throne taking it as a

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piece of meat. Common people had a strong belief in such omens in the 7th century.¹

Among other inauspicious omens Bāṇa places the following; throbbing of the left eye; Rāhū seen to be attacking the sun; smoke in the Great Bear or the group of seven stars; falling of comets from the sky; losing of sunshine by the sun; and the advent of a terrible storm.²

Malik Mohammad Jāyasi refers to the good omens as believed in by the common people in the middle of the 16th century. The sooth-sayers, remarks Jāyasi, observed the omens in front. "On the right is a fish in a silver dish. A young woman approaches carrying a pitcher full of water. A gardening maid comes with a coronal of flowers which has been woven by her. A king-crow is on the head of a snake. On the right a deer comes running out of the forest. On the left a partridge calls and a donkey brays. A black bull bellows on the right. On the left a white kite draws near, and a fox shows himself. A coppersmith bird (came) on the left and a *Sāras* (crane) (became visible) on the right. You will reach fruition to your heart's content. He who has such omens and sets forth in hope of attaining an object, he has eight great *siddhis*, as the poet Vyās has said."³

A number of poets belonging to the 17th century have also expressed their views on the subject. Sheikh Manjhan, the celebrated author of a Hindi work, *Madhumālātī*, refers to the marriage procession of his hero, Chitrasena, which started on Wednesday when it was *Navami*. On the way he saw the following auspicious signs :

The deer and crows became visible to the marriage party. A woman was coming from the other side with her child on her bosom. Brāhmaṇas with a dozen *tilaks* on their foreheads crossed their path. From the right came a hare and from the left a number of ponies. A milkmaid appeared with milk pot on her head, and other maidens with pitchers full of water. The fish were seen coming up the surface of water. For Manjhan such omens signified the successful accomplishment of all deeds.⁴

Shyām Sundar Dās, editor of Tulsi's *Rāma Charit Mānas*, divides omens into three categories : apparent; psychological and symbolic. In the first are included such omens as crowing of a crow or its perching somewhere. Those of the second class are found in the

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Śundarakāṇḍa of *Rāma Charit Mānas*. Hanumān remarks there that the happiness of mind was an index of the accomplishment of the work in hand. In the third category can be placed such examples as the throbbing of parts of body.⁵

Among the auspicious omens during the march of Rāma's marriage procession, Tulsi Dās recounts the following :

The magpie was picking up food on the left side; on the right a crow was seen in a field; a mongoose was also visible. Mild, cool breeze was blowing. Married women with pitchers full of water on their heads and children in their laps were coming from the front.⁶ A fox appeared time and again; from the right side came a herd of the deer. Young calves were sucking the cows.⁷ Among other good omens Tulsi includes the singing in a peculiar manner of the Kshemkari eagle; seeing of a shyāmā or black sparrow on the left side, of the advent of some one with curd and of fish and of the *Pundits* or learned men with holy books in their hands.⁸

The throbbing of certain parts of one's body was regarded as a good omen as that of the right eye and right arm in case of a man and left eye and left arm of a woman. The throbbing of a woman's breasts, eye or lips indicated that she wanted to meet her lover. The same was true when the strings of her bodice cracked.^{9-a}

Tulsi regarded the throbbing of the left foot of a woman a good omen. This happened with Sītā when she went to perform the worship of Pārvasī at the temple and finding such auspicious signs she became exceedingly happy.⁹ This was the case also when she was a prisoner at Rāvaṇa's house.¹⁰ Tulsi holds the view that the throbbing of the left eye and arm of a man was for the good.¹¹ Bharata was overhappy when his eyes and arms started throbbing¹² and Mantharā was joyous when her right eye showed that symptom.¹³ If one heard some body sneezing from the left side, he took it to be a good omen.¹⁴

Sūr Dās has his own list of auspicious omens. Kaushalyā was contemplating meeting Rāma and Lakshmaṇa when nearby all of a sudden a crow flew and perched on a green branch. This surely was a good omen.¹⁵ The same is the case when a black bee sings near one's ears.¹⁶ It was always regarded as auspicious to see a good or morning dream.^{16-a} One could have even dreams forecasting future events.^{16-b}

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Viewing a noble face in the morning was a happy omen. According to poet Parmānanda Dās, when the cowherdresses of Vrindābana saw the auspicious face of the boy Kṛṣṇa, they became fully assured that they would fetch a good price for their milk.¹⁷

Ill omens for a man were jerking of left eyes and arm, and for a woman of right eye and arm, lip and breast.¹⁸ Lāl Kavi also regarded the throbbing of the right arm of a man to be inauspicious.¹⁹ If one saw in the morning the face of a bad person, one was sure to face a bad day.²⁰

When Bharata entered Ayodhyā after the death of his father Daśratha, he encountered a number of ill omens. Crows were crowing, donkeys were braying and jackals were crying.²¹ Excessive barking of dogs and crying aloud of kites and seeing of bad dreams also foreboded evil.^{22-α}

Rāvaṇa, according to Tulsi, did not care to distinguish between good and bad, auspicious and inauspicious omens. He refused to pay heed to the fact that, prior to his ultimate destruction at the hands of Rāma, weapons were slipping from his hands, his warriors were falling down from chariots, horses and elephants made terrible sounds and were running away, jackals, eagles and dogs wept bitterly and owls made unpleasant sounds.²²

Some of the foreign travellers also took note of the superstitious habits of the Indians in the 17th century. Dubois records that crossing of the path by a snake or cat or jackal was regarded as an ill omen.²³ Manucci remarks that while carrying water, if a Hindu encountered a corpse on the way, he would throw away the whole of that water and return to refill the vessel. He would turn back and relinquish his work for the day if, coming out of his house, he saw a cat crossing his path or if some one sneezed.^{23, 24}

While travelling in the present Thāna district in Mahārāshtra, Fryer found the people there "Most Abominably superstitious". He further remarked that "an ill Augury shall detain them idle a whole day, though they and their household must starve, if they work not; such an Hare crossing the way, or a cow standing on the left hand."²⁵

The English factor John Marshall, in his *Notes and Observations in Bengal* (1668-72), mentions omens to conquer enemies as believed

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by the Bengālis at that time. He writes : "If a man, when going to fight with his enemies and his right nostrill be open and cleare so that he breaths well thorow it, he will beat his enemy, but if shut and cannot well breath thorow it, then hee will be beaten; and if both nostrills be open and cleare, then he will kill his enemy; if both be shut then will not fight, or if fight, be killed."²⁶

There was a strong belief among people about the existence of ghosts and spirits. Chetan Brāhmaṇ, according to Jāyasi, lost consciousness at the sight of Padmāvatī. Every body was under the impression that she had fallen under the influence of some ghosts.²⁶ Rahīm refers to the worship of ghosts by men.²⁷ Bhikhāri Dās also alludes to ghosts and spirits, talk about whom made one weary and restless and sent some into a swoon.²⁸ Other poets have also mentioned about people's belief in ghosts.

Manucci remarks that Indian Muslims were credulous in matters of sorcery. They began to bruit in all directions that the Frank doctor had an extraordinary power of exorcising demons. "The usual treatment", he writes, (of patients complaining that a demon had taken them in his grip) "was by bullying, tricks, emeticks, clysters and evil-smelling fumigation with filthy things. Nor did I desist until the patients were worn out and said that the devil had fled".²⁹

People believed in good and evil effects that stars could cast on their destiny. They have such a belief even today. Bihāri remarks that a good star, taking it to be favourable, is neglected. But if it is unfavourable, one resorts to worship and distribution of alms.³⁰ To view the moon of the fourth day, as is the practice today also, was considered as a bad omen.³¹ It forebodes some sort of blemish.

During his stay at Singee in Bihār, John Marshall recorded the following account in his Notes :

"6 March (1671). Then at Singee at 6½ Gurries (ghari) night happened a very great Meteor, casting a light so great that I thought the (English) Factory had been all on a fire, sitting in the (?) Chowteund at supper. It came from South South West and ran North North West. The beginning of it was about 20 degrees high and ran to about 30 degrees towards the other horizon, so that the whole ran 130 degrees, and it was about 4 or 5 d. broad. It shone about one minute of an hour very bright, and then contracted its light to a duskishness, and

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one end of it turned to South East by South, and the other directly South, where it seemed to center. It continued that Duskish light about 10 or 12 minutes, when was quite extinct. After its first lightning, there was a great crack like the crack of a cannon.

“The Brahmins say it imports 3 things :—

1. An Earthquake at its appearing
2. An Earthquake 15 days after.
3. The Death of the King.”^{31-a}

We learn from an entry in the Diary of Strynsham Master, the Agent of the East India Company in Hugli in 1676, that the Hindus there were very super-stitious. The merchants sent for by the English from Murshidābād to Qāsimbāzār on September 25, 1676, could not come ‘until the new moone’.³² “The five days before the new moon are looked upon by Hindus as more or less fatal, and anything undertaken on these days would be attended with disastrous results”, remarks the editor of Master’s Diaries.³³

Manucci wrote : “At the beginning of 1702 a comet appeared on the coast of Coromandel; it was about a cubit in length, its head to the east and its tail to the west. All these things foretell nothing but misfortune, for after the earlier floods at Masulipatam, a similar comet appeared in the sky. May God deliver us from it.”³⁴

Sudden maladies and troubles afflicting children have always been attributed to the evil eyes cast by others. Quoting instances from Kṛṣṇa’s childhood, the *Bhaktā* poets of the 17th century have suggested cure against this evil. In case the boy showed disinclination to play or eat, it was regarded as an influence of evil eye. Ladies took care sometimes not to allow the child to see even his own face in the mirror for fear even of his own eyes. The one important remedy against the “evil eye” was the throwing of mustard seed and salt into the fire, or to repeat spells for exorcising.³⁵ There are copious references in the contemporary Hindi literature about these two remedies resorted to by the people.³⁶ Yet another common remedy against the evil eye, as today, was the application of lampblack or *Kājal* on the forehead of the child. The Hindi terms for this were : *ḍiṭhona*; *masi binduk* and *bindu*.³⁷ To wean away the effect of the evil eye, yet another practice in vogue was “to break the straw” known as “*tinkā tornā*.”³⁸ Distribution of money, jewels and ornaments was also regarded as cures against the evil eye.³⁹ When a child escaped

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some mishap, the mother took water round his head and drank the same.⁴⁰ Finding anything wrong with the child, the mother would usually ask some elderly person, a "specialist" in the "art", "to scrutinize child's hand and cure him of the evil effects, if any."⁴¹

Care was taken to perform journey only on auspicious days, as recorded by Malik Mohammad Jāyasi. On Sundays and Fridays, observes he, it was deemed a bad omen to go towards west. Mondays and Saturdays were bad days for going towards the East, Tuesday and Wednesday for going towards the North. If, however, one was forced to perform a journey on days known to be inauspicious, then one had to resort to remedies prescribed in books as mentioned in the *Padmāvatī*. For journeys on Tuesdays one was required to put in one's mouth coriander seed and on Mondays to look into a mirror, and on Fridays to put mustard seed in one's mouth. Before going in the direction of the South, it was proper to eat *gur*. On Sunday one was required to chew betel-leaf and on Saturday to put in his mouth the seeds of a creeper known as *Bāyabidang*. On Wednesday one was required to perform a journey only after eating curd. These were the remedies against *Dishashūl* which was regarded inauspicious for undertaking a journey.⁴²

Writing about people's beliefs in Bihār and Bengāl in this respect in the 17th century, John Marshall remarks that they considered it good to undertake a journey to the East on Sunday, to the West on Monday, Friday or Saturday; to the South on Tuesday or Wednesday; and to the North on Thursday.⁴³ He also mentions about the superstitious belief of the Persians who "say that the 3, 8, 13, 18, 23 and 28th days after they see the New Moon are unfortunate Days.....and on these days they say tis not good to undertake any work."⁴⁴

Journey undertaken during untimely rains, was taken to be inauspicious. Bihāri remarks that seeing the husband determined on a journey, the shrewd wife invoked the rain-god by singing the *Malhār* song with *Viṇā* in the month of *Pūs*, resulting in the postponement of the journey.⁴⁵ It was forbidden to undertake a journey during that month.

When there was a case of snake-bite, an expert in the art of curing this was sent for and requested to cure the person concerned with the power of *mantras*. Such a person was known as *Gāruri*.⁴⁶ Jāyasi remarks at one place that in a case of snake-bite, all the available magicians, physicians and curers of the disease were sent for.⁴⁷

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Curing a malady through magic has always been a dominant faith with the common people. Jāyasi alludes to the name of Lonā of *Chamār* caste, living in Āssām, and celebrated for witchcraft. Jāyasi's English translator, A. G. Shirreff, regards Kāmarūpa sorcery very potential even now, if rightly learnt from the initiated and properly recited.⁴⁸ If Sūr and Tulsi mention the use of magic to cure their child-gods, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, it is just because they want to refer to a general practice prevalent among the common folk.⁴⁹

Manucci refers to sorcery practised in India in the 17th century,⁵⁰ and to spells and magic in Lahore.⁵¹ He also mentions about a spell cast on a horse,⁵² about making a pot move against stream⁵³ and about making a stolen cock crow in the stomach of a thief by power of magic.⁵⁴ He was surprised to see both Hindus and Muslims practising witchcraft in an excessive way. He narrates an incident when, once passing through a field of radishes, one of his servants stretched out his hand to pluck a radish out of the ground, and to their astonishment, his hand got stuck to it. Manucci searched out the owner of the field, offered him a bribe and requested him to get his servant "liberated". The owner gave the poor servant a good thrashing, recited some words and only then freed him.⁵⁵ That way Manucci himself admits the power of magic as observed by himself !

According to an accusation by the painters and weavers of Fort St. George in the middle of the 17th century, the Brāhmaṇa employees of the East India Company had had "in their heads and about their body so many sorts of charmes, spells, rootes, and other witchcrafts, whereby they endeavour to stopp the mouthes of any that speake against them or take the edge of anger from those that may have power to punish them."⁵⁶

Bikhārī Dās and Tānsen have also alluded to the use of spells and charms.⁵⁷

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यागे सगुन सगुनिये ताका । दहिने माछ रूप के टांका ॥
भरे कलस तरुनी जल आई । 'दहिने' लेह ग्वालिन गोहराई ॥
मालिनि आब मोर लिये गांथे । खंजन बैठ नाग के माथे ॥

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दहिने मिरिग आइ बन घाएं । प्रतिहार बोला खर बाएं ॥
 बिरिख संवरिया दहिने बोला । बाएं दिसा चापु चरि डोला ॥
 बाएं अकासी घोरी आई । लोत्रा दरस आइ दिखराई ॥
 बाएं कुररी, दहिने कूचा । पहुंचै भुगति जैस मन रुचा ॥
 जा कहं सगुन दोहि अस श्री गवनै जेहि आस ।
 अष्ट महासिधि तेहि कहं, जग कवि कहा बिचास ॥

Jāyasi Granthāvalī : Padmāvat : Ed. Rāma Chandra Shukla, 12(10), p. 50.

4. Manjhan : *Madhumālātī*, 440.

5. *Rām Charit Mānas*. ed. by Shyām Sunder Dās, Indian Press, Allāhābād, p. 968 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, I, Bālakānda, 1, 2/336, p. 289.

7. *Ibid.*, 3/336.

8. *Ibid.*, 4/336.

8-a आजु कोउ नौकि बात सुनावे ।

भुज फरकति कंचुकि बंद तरकत नंद नंदन घर आवे ।

Parmānanda Dās, op. it Māyā Rani Tandon, p. 392.

आज सवेरे हीं उठि बैठी कुचनि कंचुकी दरकी ।

श्री केसर घोरत में मेरी फर-फर भुज दै फरकी ॥

Chhitsuwāmi, 56.

वाम भुजा लागी फरकनि, कंचुकि बंध लागे तरकन ।

Nanda Dās, p. 19.

वाम उरभुर्जा नेत्र मस्फुरन प्रिय भाषणः ॥

Shrīmad Bhāgvat, X, ch. 53, śloka 27.

9. *Rāma Charit Mānas* (RCM), Bālakānda, Sopāna, 269, p. 228.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 634.

11. *Ibid.*, *Chaupāī*, p. 968.

12. *Ibid.*, 1/226, p. 550.

13. *Ibid.*, *Ayodhyā Kānda* 3/21, p. 369.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 520.

15. बैठी जननी (कौशल्या) करति सगुनौति ।

लछमन राम मिलै अब मोकी, दोउ अमोलक मोती ।

इतनी कहत, सुकाग उहां दै हरि डार उड़ि बैठ्यो ।

Sūr Sāgar, 9-164.

16. भौर एक चहुं दिसि तैं उड़ि उड़ि, कानन लगि लगि गावै ।

Ibid., 3455,

16-a *Ibid.*, 9.83, 3089; 3090; RCM Sundarakānda, 11.

16-b *Sūr Sāgar*, 517; 518; 519; 544; 1935; 1936; 2934; 2955.

17. लाल कौ मुख देखन को हीं आई

कलिह मुख देखि गई दधि बेचन जातहि गौ बिकाई ।

दिन तैं दूनों लाभ भयो घर काजरि बिधिया जाई ।

Parmānanda Dās, 49.

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18. ये देखि फरकत मेरे गात, ब्रज में आहि कछु उतपात ।
Nand Das, p. 220;
ब्रज में होत लगै उतपात, असुभ सूचने फरके गात ।
Ibid., p. 276.
19. फरकयो चंपतिराइ को, दच्छिन भुज अनुकूल ।
Chhatra Prakash, Doha-3, p. 43.
20. *Sūr Sāgar*, 1482.
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- 21-a. Ibid., *Lankā Kānda*, pp. 784-785;
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29. Manucci, *A Pepys of Mughal India*, p. 161.
30. Bihārī : *Ratnākar*, 381.
31. Tosh : *Sudhānidhi*, 20.
- 31-a. John Marshall in India, p. 144.
32. Master, Streynsham *Diaries of.....II*, p. 331.
33. Ibid.
34. Manucci, III, p. 296.
35. खेलन में कोउ दीठि लगाई
लै-लै राई-लोन उतारति ।
सांझहि तैं अतिहीं विरुझानी
चंदरि देखि करि अति आरति ।
Sūr Sāgar, 10-200.
- चरन कमल की रंनु जसोदा ले-ले सीस चढ़ावै री
कोन निरासी दृष्टि लगाई लै-लै अंचल भारै री ।
Parmānanda Dās, 78.
- कातू नितिचरि दृष्टि लगाई लै लै अंचर भारै ।
Ibid., 61.
- निसि के उनीदे नैन, तैसे रहे ढरि ढरि ।
कोधौ कहुं प्यारी को, लागी टटक नजरि ।
Sūr Sārāvalī, 752.
- Jasodā gives the child Kṛṣṇa butter to eat and says :
मो आगैं तुम खाहु
बाहरि जनि कबूह कछु खैयै डीठी लगैगी काहु ।
Sūr Sārāvalī, 987.

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सोधौं या के अंग न लगाऊँ, फूलफुलेल न मूड़ चढ़ाऊँ ।
दरपन देखन दैउ न सौँही, डरौं आपनी डीठि तैं हौं ही ॥

Nanda Dās, p. 23.

चिबुक दिठी नाबिधि कियो दीठि लागि जनि जाय ।
सो तिल जग मोहन भयो दीठिहि लेत लगाय ॥

Mubarak : *Tilśatak*-22.

36. कबहुं अंग भूशन बनावति, राई लोन उतारि ।

Sūr Sāgar, 10-118;

सांकरे बलि बलि बाल गोविंद,

अति सुख पूरन परमानंद ।

जाकी नाम कोटि भ्रम टारे, तापर राई-लोन उतारै ।

Ibid., 10-129;

खेलन में कोउ दीठि लगाई, लै लै राई-लोन उतारति ।

Ibid., 10-200;

रसन दसन धरि बाल कृसन पर, राई लोन उतारै ।

Parmānanda Dās, 61;

ले उछंग मुख निरखन लागी राई लोन उतारे ।

Ibid., 78;

जसुमति माय घाय उर लीन्हो राई लोन उतारो ।

Sūr Sārāwalī, 457.

37. माई मोरिहि दीठि न लागै, तातें मसि-बिंदा दियो ऊपरा ।

Sūr Sāgar, 10-91;

डिठोना दीन्हौ

Ibid., 10-74;

काजर-बिन्दु-भ्रुव ऊपर

Ibid., 10-98;

मसि-बिन्दु

Ibid., 10-116.

38. औट्यौ दूध कपूर मिलायो प्यावत कनक कटोरे ।

पीवत देखि रोहिनी जसुमति डारति हैं तून तोरे ।

Sūr Sāgar, 442.

कंज-रंघ्र भवलोकि सहचरी अपनो तनमन वारे ।

निरखि निरखि दम्पति नेत्तनि सुख तोरि तोरि तून डार ।

Sūr Sārāwalī, 899.

सूर अंग त्रिभंग सुन्दर छवि निरखि तून तोरे ।

Ibid., 1335.

39. सरबस मैं परिलैं री वार्यो, नान्हीं-नान्हीं दुंतुली दू पर ।

अब कहा कयौ निछावरि, सूरज सीचति अपनै लातान जू पर ।

Sūr Sāgar, 10-92.

देति अभूषन वारि वारि सब.....

Ibid., 10-78.

40. देति अभूषन वारि वारि सब, पीवति सूर वारि सब पानी ।

Ibid.

देवकी पियी वारि पानी ।

Ibid.

41. आज अनरसे हैं भोर के, पय पीयत न नीके

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बेगि बोले कुल गुरु छुआँ माथे हाथ अमी के ।

Gītāwali, Bāla Kānda, 13.

देखोरी जसुमति बीरानी ।

घर घर हाथ दिखावत डोलत गोद लिये गोपाल बिनानी ।

Sūr Sāgar, 10-258.

हरि किलकत जसुमति की कनियां ।

घर घर हाथ दिखावति डोलति बांधति गौरं बधनियां ।

Ibid., 10-83.

42. अदित सूक पच्छिउं दिसि राहू । बीफे दखित लंकदिसि दाहू ॥

सोम सनीचर पुरुष न चालू । मंगल बुद्ध उत्तर दिसि कालू ॥

अवसि चला चाहै जो कोई, ओषद कहीं, रोग नहिं होई ॥

मंगल चलत मेल मुख धनिया । चलत सोम देखै दरपनिया ॥

सूकहि चलत मेल मुख राई । बीफै चलै दखिन गुड़ खाई ॥

अदित तंबोल मेलि मुख मंडै । बायबिरंग सनिचर खंडै ॥

बुद्धहि दही चलहु चरि भोजन, ओषद इहै, और नहिं खोजन ॥

Jāyasi Granthāvali, Padmāvat, Nagiri Prachārini Sabha, Varānasi, Ed. R. C. Shukla, 32(9), p. 46.

43-44. John Marshall in India, p. 362.

45. Bihārī ; Ratnākar, 146.

46. सूर गारुड़ी गुन करि था के, मंत्र न लागत पर तैं ।

Sūr Sārāwali, 744.

महरि, गारुड़ी कुंवर कन्हारै ।

Ibid., 754.

नंद सुवन गारुड़ी बुबाबहु ।

Ibid., 746.

डसी री स्याम भुअंगम कारे ।

फुरै न मंत्र, जंत्र, गद नाहीं, चले गुन डारे ।

Ibid., 747.

जंत्र मंत्र कछु जानत ही तुम, सू स्याम बनवारि ।

Ibid., 755.

जंत्र मंत्र कह जानै मेरौ ?

Ibid., 753.

बड़ी मंत्र कियो कुंवर कन्हारै ।

Ibid., 761.

नागडसी ! मैया सुनति गिरिधरनि मुरझाई ।

बार बार यो आखही, कोउ जलदी करौ उपाइ ।

Nanda Dās, p. 118.

47. जावत गुनी गारुड़ी आए, ओझा, बैद, सयान बोलाए ।

Jāyasi Granthāvali, Padmāvat, 11(2)2, p. 44.

48. Padmāvatī ; Shirreff p. 222 ff.

49. टोना-टामनि जंत्र मंत्र करि, ध्यायी देव-दुआरी री ।

Sūr Sāgar, 10-135.

SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS IN LATER MEDIEVAL INDIA

50. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 133; 134; 135.
51. Ibid., III, p. 209.
52. Ibid., II, p. 133.
53. Ibid., II, p. 94.
54. Ibid., II, p. 134.
55. Ibid., II, p. 133;
A Pepys of Mughal India, pp. 131-132.
56. Foster, William: *The English Factories in India*, (1618-1670), Oxford, 1906-27; 1651-54, p. 242.
57. Bhikhāri Dās, II, 10/28, p. 100 ;
Tāsen Aur Un Kā Kāvya, Dhrupad Ke Pada, 1/98.

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THE TEMPEST FOR WELFARE ENGLAND : JOHN FOWLES'S *THE COLLECTOR*

Jaidev

The Collector by John Fowles is an overt intertext and shrilly announces its connexions with Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, which it turns into a 'pre-text.' The novel adapts and interprets the play by bringing the latter's aporias and potentialities to a crisis in such a way that at the same time it offers a critique of the play and adapts it for very contemporary and political purposes. It is with these twin functions of intertextuality in the novel that the present essay will be concerned.

Surely there is nothing sensational or spectacular about Shakespeare getting parodied in this manner. Shakespeare is very patient, very adaptable. To confine myself to contemporary fiction, we have Anthony Burgess's impressive and virtuoso pastiches of Shakespeare beginning with his *Nothing Like the Sun* (1964) and continuing with his Enderby novels. *Macbeth* with its witches and porter scene has inspired a number of novelists to 're-write' it : Spark's *Not to Disturb*, Murdoch's *The Time of the Angels*, Angus Wilson's *No Laughing Matter*, and Grass's *Cat and Mouse* instantly flit across the mind. Grass's *The Tin Drum* not only offers some rather wild criticism of *Hamlet*, as does also Murdoch's *The Black Prince*, but also parodies Hamlet's 'to be or not to be' soliloquy in a chapter called "Should I or shouldn't I?"¹ *The Tempest* is perhaps the most adapted and interpreted text in contemporary fiction, and the reason for this must obviously lie in the play's political, colonial and racial strains, as also in its preoccupation with power, domination and freedom, themes that haunt our history and times. *The Tempest* for Africa or Asia cannot be the same as *The Tempest* for Europe.

What is interesting in many a contemporary adaptation of Shakespeare is that a pastiche or parodic text not only modernises and updates Shakespeare for securing its own *raison d'être*, but also discovers some areas of darkness or opaqueness, some erasures or absences which, when highlighted, make the reader think critically

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about Shakespeare's texts themselves. Such a parodic text is perhaps not a case of systematic, institutionalized criticism, but it does come close to criticism. In a BBC talk in 1978, Malcolm Bradbury said, "Parody is not merely a literary text, but an effective mode of literary criticism [as well]."² It is with the premise that a parodic fictional text involves criticism of the model that one needs to approach *The Collector*, even though there is no denying that its central thrust for the most part remains on creating autonomy and space for itself as a fiction. Of course, *The Collector* is not the only text of this kind. Fowles's second novel, *The Magus*, deconstructs Prospero to shake, if only slightly, our faith in him as a righteous, kind and compassionate father-figure: Fowles's magus is a trickster, a wily but Protean master-plotter. Iris Murdoch's *The Sea, the Sea* interprets Prospero as a fraudulent, self-engrossed, power-maniac who, even in the late evening of his life, cannot really free his lovers whom he treats as his slaves. And in her *The philosopher's Pupil*, Caliban is interpreted as a seeker of salvation which he thinks will be available only if his rejectionist-philosopher-teacher will agree to teach him, and predictably all kinds of Murdochian suggestions accompany Caliban's desperate quest for the old philosopher-teacher. In any case, the novel, like drama, has found it desirable to "find a way forwards" by going "back to Shakespeare,"³ to use Peter Brook's thoughtful words. The result is that thus it has not only justified Shakespeare's continuing relevance for modern writers but also read him better, read him with a critical eye that must lead to fresh insights. While there is no doubt that in reading Shakespeare for such parodic and interpretative purposes this fiction has imposed itself on him, the exercise is not always an act of bad faith. And in any case, this fiction has implicitly pointed to the essential nature of all acts of reading which is reflexive, metaliterary. Murdoch's Shakespeare is only part Shakespeare; partly it is her Shakespeare. If this suggests self-reference, this fiction implicitly argues, there is no escaping self-reference in any act of reading. Johnson's Shakespeare is no more Shakespeare than is Eliot's. Shakespeare is dead, and if he is likely to live long, he will live as Dryden's, Coleridge's, Eliot's, and so on. Criticism is metaliterature, no less creative or idiosyncratic than creative literature. On the other hand, literature, especially parody, is equally critical, metaliterary.

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The Collector is placed in post-1945 England, in Welfare England in which the lower classes are militant, conscious of their strength, and class-conscious through and through. They also compensate for their centuries-old deprivations and inferiority feelings by mimicking and parodying the upper classes and their manners. The protagonist, Frederick Clegg, is a pastiche man, an inferiority-ridden man whose only consolations are mimicking the tele celebrities from the upper class, dreaming of fabulous riches *a la* Caliban, hating his own people as filth, and fantasising about a mermaid-like young beauty whose class shows in everything she does or says. This last fantasy is mostly voyeuristic, vicarious and distant; and his consolation is that since the girl's name is Miranda, his case is not too bad, considering that in its shortened form his name, Frederick, becomes identical to that of Ferdinand. Obviously, the hero has some vulgar notions about *The Tempest* which most probably owe to his addiction to TV. His winning over £73,000 at pools changes everything. He soon realizes that now he has money, and that money is power. Power can help him realize his Shakespearean fantasy. Soon, he buys a secluded, old, island-like cottage in the lonely countryside, furnishes it extravagantly, though vulgarly, and ultimately kidnaps Miranda; he keeps her in the cellar, tries to please her in every possible way—so that one day she will come to appreciate his Ferdinandian sentiments and consent to be his wife: "Gradually she came to know me and like me and the dream grew into the one about our living in a nice modern house, married, with kids and everything."⁴ Once Miranda is a captive, he allows his heart to warm up towards her by another set of dreams: "Well, I lay there thinking of her below, lying awake too. I had nice dreams, dreams where I went a bit far in what I gave myself to dream, but I wasn't really worried, I knew my love was worthy of her" (p. 30). Frederick is an ass because he assumes that just because he is *now*, that is, after kidnapping her, being nice to her, she will begin to love him. He is an idiot because he does not see that he is no Ferdinand. He is shocked when Miranda christens him Caliban. In fact, even Miranda is not the Shakespearean Miranda: she is not all that innocent, she is class-conscious, and being in the twentieth century she has no consideration for virginity-knot. She is a decent, liberal, understanding person, but above all she loves her freedom and free will. She tries to teach this Caliban the simple lesson that power and love never go together, that domination excludes

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feelings. But like Caliban, Frederick is unteachable. Ironically, though, such is the hold of his pastiche Shakespearean role on him that he does not assault Miranda: gentlemen or princes are always chivalric; and indeed when in utter desperation Miranda tries to seduce him, hoping that perhaps sex will change something, alter this trap-like situation in some way, the fantasy-ridden hero feels repulsion towards this horrifyingly unShakespearean Miranda. In details pregnant with self-reflexivity, Miranda rationalises her abortive attempt to seduce him by believing that her situation is a fantastic variation of a fantastic situation, the latter obviously being a potentially Shakespearean situation. For his part, having seen Miranda behave as "a street-walker" Frederick reels as the whole romance collapses around him. Miranda makes notes of her stay in the cellar, and in one of the entries she quotes quite a few lines from *The Tempest* but adds by way of improvisation and parody: "O sick new world" (p. 255). She dies a prisoner for want of medical care, and though for a few hours Frederick wants to die with her because that will be some Shakespearean role, after all—Othello's?—he changes his mind as soon as he reads her unpleasant notes. At the end he realizes that not even money-power can eliminate class differences and this time he will seek a new Miranda from his own class.

For its premises, *The Collector* performs a deliberate misprision of *The Tempest* in a number of striking ways. It brings Shakespeare to the post-1945 realities of Britain by imposing class patterns on what are potentially racial or even species patterns and which are carefully kept low in the play. Like Caliban, Frederick dreams of riches, fetches wood for Miranda, and acts like a slave. He is low-witted, a thrice-double ass of sorts. Like Caliban, he is a half creature, loathsome, ignorant, unteachable, and is actually called a monster. However, as Miranda recognises with deadly clarity, Shakespeare's Caliban never won the pools and was always under control. By contrast, the twentieth-century Caliban is powerful for he can do anything he likes to the usurper's daughter, including 'peopling' the isle with new Calibans from her. Again, in this new situation, the New People are the virtual masters and so uncultured, raw and brutal are they that they cannot let alone anything graceful, aesthetic, beautiful but must tear it down, defile it. England is the new island and is now ruled by Calibans, the New People, the masses, and for this geographical trans-

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position, again *The Tempest* provides sanction. Trinculo says about Caliban: "Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man; any strange beast there would make a man."⁵ Even Trinculo or his creator could not have envisaged the monster turning into the powerful master. But still, Fowles takes this cue and uses it for all its devastating irony. Again, in this new situation, Prospero's daughters have no protectors, and even if they exist, they are ineffective. It is as if Fowles took up the Shakespearean detail of Prospero burning his magic books and breaking his staff but then started from there the predicament of a still-unmarried Miranda. Calibans are free, fearless, unstoppable now. Finally, unlike Caliban's final resolve to be wise hereafter and seek for grace, the new Calibans have no doubt that they are as good as Ferdinand and the fault lies only with the new Mirandas. As in *Great Expectations* or *The Portrait of a Lady* where a fairy story is transposed on a realistic, socio-cultural and political canvas, in *The Collector* romance is marginalised to the privileging of the socio-political situation.

In *The Collector* Frederick wins money which brings him prerogatives associated with Prospero and Ferdinand. These prerogatives when conjuncted with the subhuman and low dreams of Caliban create an image of Welfare England in which pigs are seen trampling upon pearls. This is the vision of the new England and in it intelligence and culture are fouled "by the moneyed masses, the New People." These people represent "uncreative men plus opportunity-to-create" (p. 244) which in turn equal evil: "... this awful deadweight of the fat little New People on everything. Corrupting everything. Vulgarising everything. Raping the countryside. ... Everything mass-produced. Mass-everything" (p. 219). Miranda hates to be at the mercy of such New People: "At the mercy of this resentment, this hateful millstone envy of the Calibans of this world." And in utmost horror, she asks: "Why *should* we tolerate their beastly Calibanity? Why should every vital and creative and good person be martyred by the great universal stodge around?" (p. 217).

Miranda's question is angry and rhetorical but history is the only answer to it. The New People with their cars and their money and their tellies and stupid vulgarities and "stupid crawling imitation of the bourgeoisie" (p. 218) are Calibans all right; and while it is a pity that

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Miranda dies, while indeed every attempt of Miranda to 'teach' Caliban "each hour/one thing or other"⁶ leads to his abusing her, the issue is nevertheless not quite as simple as *The Tempest* suggests. If anything, Shakespeare's little compassion for Caliban is all too condescending. On the other hand, *The Collector* problematises the romantic text by virtue of its realistic mode, and relates the hero to his specific historical situation. This it does at one place by suggesting that just as the isle is crowded now, Calibans are not a rarity. But the pervasive rape of intelligence is a wider phenomenon of which Miranda's abduction and destruction are only one, if extreme, manifestation. The novel is thus deconstructing *The Tempest* and its tensest aporia. Can a vertical, unequal class system avoid, escape violence, whether in the form of persecution and exploitation of an enslaved Caliban-class or in the form of Miranda's destruction? Can the dominant classes escape fears and anxieties? And, finally, can decencies, culture and humaneness operate comfortably in a divided, conflict-ridden society? What, in other words, *The Collector* does is simple: it presences the absences in Shakespeare, it objectifies the fears of Prospero, the potentialities of Caliban, the vulnerability of Miranda. The question it raises is: is the Welfare state enough? Is a welfare-oriented Prospero enough?

What did Miranda try to teach Calibans, anyway? To be cultured, obedient, decent, ethical, to speak like she did, to adopt her life-style as his own model? Caliban's only profit was he knew how to curse her. Is mere education enough to exercise the possibility of violence and conflict? Or does it merely aggravate the ills inbuilt in a social and political structure? What is culture? Does it not involve much arbitrary prioritizing and privileging of certain artefacts, fashions, manners just because they come from or belong to the ruling classes? Is not the prescribed and approved culture the culture of the rulers? What is wrong with the culture which is marginalised only because it belongs to the lower classes or even Calibans? Since class structure is intact in the twentieth century, since it is still mostly birth-based and closed, and since one class's culture is arbitrarily privileged, the newly rich lower-class people naturally try to ape the upper, superior styles, and thus in effect they become alienated from their own roots and live life in a schizophrenic, pastiche style. Even internalising Miranda's culture is very difficult for Frederick: accent, way of eating, walkidg, laughing, kissing, almost everything is class-determined as well as class-reflective.

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Even if one were to learn the alien, dominant culture, what help is it in bringing peace or harmony to society since the basic structure has not had any but cosmetic changes? The result is inevitably oppression, exploitation, and discontent : sometimes Calibans suffer, sometimes Mirandas die. *The Collector* shows Frederick for what he is : a thrice double ass who understands nothing about the simple consequence of his acts. He is a sick product of a sick system. But the novel understand^s him better than *The Tempest* understands Caliban. What is more, the novel has sympathy for Miranda but avoids projecting her as an all-wise teacher manque. She suffers much, poses big questions which cannot be answered without reference to history and social system, has always voted Labour, and in general approves of the Welfare policies. But what with her adoration of such superior-class texts as *Emma* and *Catcher in the Rye*, matched by her total dismissal of *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, she simply fails to reach the answer in terms of socio-economic and class structure. Indeed, the ending is depressing because class differences are vindicated, shown to be the destiny of each character. Miranda dies every inch a Hampstead girl, and Frederick learns not to waste time on the classes other than his own.

By shifting the Shakespearean focus from a warm, humanitarian and merciful ending to the harder, more real realities of the class situation, *The Collector* creates space for itself as an autonomous text, its heavy intertextuality notwithstanding. But it also deconstructs *The Tempest* at the tense points which relate to Shakespeare's ideology. Unlike Fowles for whom Frederick's diseased psychology is connected with the class situation, Shakespeare plays down the implications of power and domination and what these do to the marginalised and enslaved sections. The absence of class reference does not mean that it is non-existent in Shakespeare. Only the text of Shakespeare 'absences' it. In *The Tempest*, virtues, morality, ethics are all class-biased. Ariel is better than Caliban because he collaborates, because he is on the rulers' side, even though he does miss his freedom. To be a slave is to be a monster, to be treated as a monster and then to be cursed as well for behaving like a monster. Indeed, while I cannot claim to know my Shakespeare except superficially, I suspect non-the-less that all his works derive their value-system in accordance with a clear class ideology. This is especially true where marriages are concerned because marriage connects families and therefore often marriage is seen as one possible

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way of class migration, which in Shakespeare, as later on in Jane Austen, can lead to class confusion.

That *The Tempest* ends without violence or destruction is only to point to its generic imperatives. But the seeds of violence are always there in *The Tempest*, and these seeds coalesce around power, rule, domination. *The Collector* is not *The Tempest*, but it sends us back to the play with the command that we re-read it by ignoring its romance airs and trying instead to relate it to be our own times, or even to Shakespeare's own times. Such a re-reading is unfair to Shakespeare because it is a deliberate act of misprision. But such a misreading, for all its violence, makes it extremely relevant to our times. Furthermore, it indirectly tells of the ideological logic which cannot allow Malvolio to be taken seriously in his infatuation for Olivia, or which must transform Bottom literally into an ass-head before he can be kissed by Titania. Class tells. Shakespeare would not foreground class, but it is there. In this ideology, a lower class person will either be a beast or else an unnamed, four-line peasant, virtuous but still insignificant. That the situation is rotten in Shakespeare as well as in Fowles is something which Shakespeare's text does not want us to think, but which Fowles's text renders inescapable. To start with *The Tempest*, to draw from it very generously, and still to be critical of its ideological silences and absences in typical of parody—which is a homage but which is also a critique.

NOTES

1. Gunter Grass, *The Tin Drums*, tran. Ralph Manheim (1961); rpt. Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1965), ch. 32.
2. Malcolm Bradbury, "The Age of Parody," BBC Radio, 3, 30 May 1978.
3. Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (1968; rpt. Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1972), p. 96.
4. *The Collector* (1963; rpt. London : Pan Books, 1965), p. 16. All subsequent references to the text are to this edition.
5. *The Tempest* in *Shakespeare : The Complete Works*, ed. Peter Alexander, Act 2, Scene 2, 11. 30 ff (London : E. L. B. S., 1964), p. 12.
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JOYCE CAROL OATES : THE WOMEN QUESTION IN HER EXPLORATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY HUMAN CONDITION

Sushila Singh

Joyce Carol Oates declared to Leif Sjoberg in an interview : 'I am very sympathetic with most of the aims of feminism, but can not write feminist literature because it is too narrow, too limited. I am equally sympathetic with male characters as with female....an unfortunate situation, but one which I can not help.'¹ Oates who takes with absolute seriousness Flaubert's claim of loving one another in art as the mystics love one another in God, firmly believes that literature is a mystical affirmation of our common human bond. Maturing in the aftermath of the Kennedy assassination, the artist in Oates set herself the task of exploring the contemporary society on all its levels. This exploration inevitably yields a definite picture of the woman condition. Oates is a serious fictionist intent on telling stories. She is an artist in the Dostoevsky-Balzac-Faulkner mode and believes in the writer's responsibility to draw a culture and its people, to present its discrete components so that the readers might gradually come to understand some of the mystery that life at its most complex includes.² 'I have a laughably Balzacian ambition to get the whole world into a book', she writes. Elaborating the task of an artist she says, 'A writer's job, ideally, is to act as the conscience of his race. People frequently misunderstand serious art because it is often violent and unattractive. I wish the world were a prettier place but I wouldn't be honest as a writer if I ignored the actual conditions around me.'³ The actual world conditions surrounding women are terrifying and unattractive. Her works, *A Garden of Earthly Delights* (1966), *Them* (1969) and *Do With Me What You Will* (1973) with their focus on female characters are specially revealing about the woman condition in the patriarchal social set up. Rising above Joyce Carol Oates' orchestration of various themes is the insistent sound of women's anguish and pain.

A Garden of Earthly Delights clearly shows that Oates' treatment of women characters is divided along the lines of poverty and affluence.

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Stating her view of the social reality she says : 'The greatest realities are physical and economic; all the subtleties of life come afterward. Intellectuals have forgotten, or else never understood how difficult it is to make one's way up from a low economic level, to assert one's will in a great crude way. It's so difficult. You have to go through it. You have to be poor'.⁴ Oates' middle and upper class women, who are more often satirized, never come to life in the same manner as her lower class women do. In their efforts at economic survival men have more varied methods and avenues. Women have only one way of attaining a respectable financial status and that is through attachment to men. Clara Walpole manipulates the wealthy Revere to raise herself to a life of economic security on her own farm. The sense of power in Joyce Carol Oates' women can be traced to the fact that men more often fail them and they are left all alone to cope with the situation.

Clara tries desperately to escape the fate of her mother. Women like her mother have no control over the facts of life which they do not understand—'The women had no opinion; opinions belong to men.'⁵ To flee such a situation Clara without any shame offers herself to the first immediately available man, Lowry. Such a relationship can never be a bond of love. Clara leaves her father, but soon starts wishing that somehow he would find her and kill Lowry to free her. In attaching herself to Revere's wealth she eventually escapes Lowry, but only for a time. She is always haunted by the fear of being crushed like her mother. But once she acquires property and has her own child, she is afraid of losing them. The dread of Lowry's return torments her as she works in her garden. The surface calm is just a facade because Lowry is a threat to everything that Clara has achieved in her new life. Harboring an intense hatred for the man, Clara very carefully cultivates her delicate and sensitive son Swan by him. Such inward tensions are bound to lead to violent explosions and we await the catastrophe in Swan's future.

Clara's garden is not the Eden it appears to be but a symbol of economic gain. Similarly, Revere represents wealth and ensuing power. The question of romantic attachment does not arise. The negative conditions of the American society give birth to Clara's icy materialism and her later insanity.

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When Lowry, the long feared demon, appears to shatter the life Clara has built so painstakingly, she is drawn to him against her will;

'She stared miserably at the floor. Everything was draining out of her, all her strength, all the hatred that had kept Lowry close to her for so long. It struck her that she had fed on this hatred and that it had kept her going, given her new life. Now that he was here and standing before her, she could not remember why she had hated him. "You bastard," she whispered, "coming back here like this—you—."

"Let me make you quiet," Lowry said.

She looked up at his smile, which was exactly like the smile she remembered.'⁶

To provide Swan more control over his life than she has ever had on her own, she is determined to keep him from a knowledge of Lowry; he is shunted away when Lowry visits. But the child senses his mother's anxiety, and things begin to crumble. Even the land Clara owns fails to offer security. The realities slip away from Clara's control. Swan, unable to withhold anymore, first accidentally shoots his step-brother, and finally his step-father and himself. Clara is last seen sinking into a passive state of insanity, the feminine alternative of the 60s to the explosive response of Swan.

Oates' *Them* brought her the 1970 National Book Award. The novel unfolds yet another dimension of her women characters. In the 'Author's note' the novelist speaks of the irresistible urge to fictionalise the poignant experience one of her own students had undergone. Maureen Wendall of the novel was a former student whose various problems and complexities overwhelmed the author. 'I became aware of her life story, her life as the possibility for a story, perhaps drawn to her by certain similarities between her and me . . . my initial feeling was "this must be fiction, this can't be real", It is to her terrible obsession with her personal history that I owe the voluminous details of this novel . . . temporarily blocking out my own reality, my personal life'.⁷ Maureen represents most of Oates' ideas regarding women and the author's obvious affinity with the character frames the novel as a 'work of history in fictional form'. To Oates' it is 'the only kind of fiction that is real'.⁸

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The novel begins in violence : the teenage Loretta Botsfords brings her young lover to her bed and is awakened the next morning by the sound of her brother shooting him in head. Loretta's youth is over. In panic she goes out on the street, running and looking for a gun to protect herself. Only a day before standing in front of a mirror, she had been pleased with a striking resemblance between herself and a Hollywood celebrity. Loretta lacks the deeper sensitivity that would allow her to see more, and fear more, as her daughter Maureen does. That is why she marries Howard Wendall who had come to investigate Bernie's murder and had raped her. 'He was dead, it was over, finished, that was the end of her youth. She tried not to think of it again.'⁹ Pregnant, she marries Howard Wendall and settles into a life of depression, economic insecurity and deprivation. She is not plagued by the loneliness which torments her daughter Maureen. In *Them* the action centres around women. Men are either out at work or have left the dreary domesticity for excitement and profit in a wayward way of life. Money is the dominant symbol in the novel. It represents all that is ugly, oppressive, and yet alluring, 'the rumple, soft, filthy feel of bills' that Jules earns for his mother. Maureen Wendall's dreams are haunted by the question 'How do you get mone?''¹⁰ The whole Wendall family knows the secret of Maureen's getting money. A man picks her up, takes her to a hotel room. She undergoes the experience sustained by the thought of money—'he would give her money. That fact kept her from breaking into pieces.'¹¹ Maureen lustfully hoards her money between the pages of a poetry book. We might ask why this cautious and intelligent girl never puts her money in the bank. It is obvious that if left in the room, the money may get lost, but the actual touch of her hoard is important to her. The one great pleasure in her life is to be alone with her bills. Bills are so sacred that she would not reduce them to a numerical value by counting them. Thus for Maureen prostitution is a means to an end, not desirable, not terrible, not even memorable. It is simply the way a woman can get money which is almost always the property of men. This insight into prostitution is something new and hardly to be found anywhere else in contemporary fiction. The male view of this social evil as reflected in Updike's *Ruth*, appears, in comparison, absurd.

Maureen is almost killed by her step-father for the manner in

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which she has been earning money. The attack puts her in comatose condition that lasts thirteen months. She is reduced to such extreme passivity that she just lies and is very much like a large vegetable. A few years after her recovery she goes back to school. She is now a more determined person. She attends carefully to the face and figure that will capture the appropriate man—someone who would make her life safe by giving her a house and children. Her gentle, married instructor, father of three children, will do. Perhaps taking a married man is Maureen's only way of getting on to the tangible results of husband and house which are her goal. The deliberate act of taking another woman's husband is carried out much in the same amoral way as is Maureen's earlier act of prostitution. Thus, Maureen, Loretta's second born after her favourite child, Jules, fights a long battle of survival, making desperate efforts to fit in somewhere and to be safe. Her story is of conflict, tension, and material degradation. We find her struggling hard to break through the suffocating violence and determinism of Detroit. Yet another dimension on Oates' women is added in the character of Nadine and through Jules' dreams embodied in women—in his grandmother, in his teacher Sister Mary Jerome, his sister Maureen, and his romanticized neurotic mistress Nadine. Through these women, though they fail him, his grandmother gets sick, his teacher loses her temper, his sister goes on the street, Nadine abandons him, he tries to draw out of him the imaginative vision, the hope of transcendence from all too specific material limitation.

Do With Me What You Will has been at times considered, on the basis of its realistic setting, a liberationist's propaganda. But on the deeper level the novel confirms the transforming powers of "romantic love and the transcending possibilities in the Western affirmation of the body. As in Updike's *Couples*, in this novel too 'Eros is equated with Life itself'.¹² Infidelity becomes a liberating force, an authentic way of life. More than any other American novelist, Oates has imparted a somewhat Lawrentian dimension to sex. As G. F. Waller very aptly puts, 'a major ideological force behind the novel is the Lawrentian concentration on sexual encounter as transcendence.'¹³ Elena Howe, the heroine of the novel, is the prototype American beauty—blonde, passive and moulded from

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outside herself by her parents, her husband and her lover. Elena learns through involvement in the pain of sexual encounter to pare away her factitious surface and discover the possibilities within and beyond herself. Literature is a faith with Joyce Carol Oates she believes that an author's task is to dramatize the 'complexities of this epoch'—the overlap between the confused existential world of the present and the coming transformation: 'I still feel my own place is to dramatize the nightmares of my time and (hopefully) to show how some individuals find a way out, awakened, come alive, move into the future.'¹⁴ Through Elena Howe the novel affirms a new concept of love that redeems infidelities, pain, and violence. As in Lawrence's *Women in Love*, this novel's final dialogue strikes a note of hope and realism :

'Did you forget everything else ?
Almost everything.'

Elena achieves a sense of profound freedom and fulfilment through the realization of her autonomy. In taking her lover from his wife and child Elena feels: 'Never in her life had she conquered any territory, achieved any victories, never. Never had she been selfish, never evil or adult, and now if she wants Morrissey she would cross over into adulthood'. She expresses her autonomy explicitly in terms of overcoming an outside conditioning, 'extending her freedom, as men do, making a claim.'¹⁵

Elena is the centre of the novel. She is the most realized woman character in whole of Oates' oeuvre, combining in herself on one hand the demand for autonomy and respectability of Clara and Maureen and on the other the fragile neurotic beauty of Nadine. Oates' most important (paradoxically, despite her passivity) affirmative heroine has affinities with the women of Doris Lessing's novels, and with Constance Chatterley, intensely aware of her female vulnerability and power through anguish and joy of the body. The novel's setting too is Lawrentian in its fierce contrasts. Just as the industrial mines threaten the mystery and natural growth of Mellor's cottage in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* the lovers in *Do With Me What You Will* are surrounded by the hostility and mechanism of Detroit and the cold impersonal power of the law. Oates' familiar symbols recur Detroit, with its violent economic contrasts, its harshness,

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and yet encompassing the freedom of the minority to succeed in reaching beyond the apparent limits of the human spirit. California is not only the 'glittering light' for Jules but a symbol of concrete and actual possibilities of autonomy it offers to the lovers. For the first time Oates uses Law as a forceful structural device which gives the novel an unusual kind of emotional clarity. The disruptive but ultimately religious force of romantic love in American life is placed in clash with tradition in the form of law. The novel is divided in three parts. Part one is 'Twenty-eight years, Two month's Twenty-six days', which is the span of Elena's apparent innocence from her birth until she meets the man who will eventually become her illicit lover, Jack Morrissey. Part two is an assemblage of scenes entitled 'Facts, Events, Fantasies, Evidence Admissible and Inadmissible' which brings Jack's life to the same meeting beneath the statue The Spirit of Detroit in front of Detroit's City Country Building. Part three, 'Crime', is an account of their love affair. The final part, 'The Summing Up', deals with each of the major participants and visualizes a future for the lovers, their love taken beyond and yet made impossible by the law. The crime of adultery, paradoxically, becomes their means of liberation.

The book's initial act of conscious crime is Elena's passive acquiescence to her father's love, as she leaves school to fly with him to California. He persuades her, she hesitates and then with his insistence, 'obey me, Elena, obey me. Yes like that, yes... don't be afraid, crawl under—crawl under—she does so; and the child crawled under the fence.'¹⁶ At the end of the book the act is recapitulated, except that Elena is no longer passive. It is her deliberate realization that she must seize Jack to gain fulfilment: 'She would do it. Utterly calm, even with that familiar taste of panic utterly still, waiting, frozen, she knew even before he appeared how he would look—having held himself back for so long, stubborn and despairing... with the dark abrupt impatience of Jack's that seemed always to be propelling him forward against his will. Elena understood: She felt it herself, years ago, centuries ago, it seemed scrambling beneath a fence someone held up for her, not knowing why she was doing this but knowing only that she would do it, that she must.'¹⁷

The novel shows how outside pressures, normative forces govern and direct an individual's psychological and emotional growth. Elena

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grows up directed essentially from outside her underdeveloped self by the pressures and desires of others. Her parents separate when she is a child, her father kidnaps her and takes her to California, and her mother vigorously craving financial security and glamour, is always threatening or avoiding litigation. The law has been significantly used as a constant pressure on her. It stands for all that threatens her autonomy. A successful model at eighteen, she is introduced to the ruthless, successful lawyer, Marvin Howe, in a Detroit night-club. Howe and his belief direct her life from now on. Their marriage is one of the external pressures forming Elena, a bond 'not between two people, but between two people and the law.'¹⁸ Thus her life is always prepared for her. Her husband keeps his work and most of his life away from her: she is a statue, a reminder of passive, ideal beauty, uncontaminated, a merely visible woman. Her marriage brings her wealth, comforts, and prestige; but socially her role remains a decorative one. She remains unfulfilled in her passive frigidity. As Rose Marie Burwell puts it, Elena's development is based on a need to either 'synthesize her personality or accede to her own disintegration.'¹⁹ Her restlessness leads her to allow Jack to drive her home. She resists calling the number he scribbles on a card. She is fully aware that he has awakened something volatile in her. When she calls him it is from a sense of incompleteness in herself and not from a desire for him: 'He would do... a need to be fulfilled: he must fill it.'²⁰ And the adulterous relationship develops through doubts, agony, love and hate, excitement and anxiety. Elena is somehow able to manage placidly and without any tension the twin relationships with the husband and the lover. But Jack suffers because of the happy and fulfilling nature of his marriage and his commitment to his wife. Elena comes to realise that law is neither the last nor the best answer to life's real quest. She loves her husband in the sense of being grateful to and dependent on him. 'Obligated to him, spiritually she belonged to him. She loved him for his patience, for the infinite busyness, the fact of his existence.'²¹ But there is more: deeper in her is the sense of hope and inspiration without which she can not live. Like Ursula at the end of *The Rainbow*, she undergoes a reorientation of being through her decisive act. Once she realises what she desires at the deepest level of her being, matters of law, obligation, affection and duty become irrelevant. With the realization of the full force of her personality, she leaves her husband and with almost ritual concentration comes to Detroit. Elena's act is an affirmation of the idea that fulfil-

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ment is greater obligation, challenge is greater than security and love transcends the law, reaching beyond the limits of being. So when Jack appeared exactly as she had imagined he would—'dark-haired, in a rush, a man in his mid-thirties—she was not prepared for their sudden, surprised smiles. They smiled as if seeing each other for the first time, a look between them of pure kinship, of triumph : and in that instant they forgot everything else.

Did you forget every thing else ?

Almost everything.²²

It is true that Joyce Carol Oates does not practise feminist writing, and perhaps she is the only woman writer who can portray male characters as convincingly and sympathetically as women characters. But at the same time, with her desire to encompass in her novels the whole of American life, its anxieties, frustrations and degradations and also its dreams for the unattainable, she has very skilfully depicted women's anxieties as well as aspirations of all sorts at the deepest and fullest level of sensitivity. Her novels represent a singular contribution to our understanding of the contemporary world as seen by a woman.

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RALPH FOX'S *THE NOVEL AND THE PEOPLE*— A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Aneel Raina

I

Ralph Fox's *The Novel and the People* written in 1936, is an integral part of that 'fragmentary and notably uneven body of materialist criticism'¹ for which the thirties, in England, are well-known. This decade of hectic political activity and expectancy saw the emergence of a number of British Marxist critics. In the absence of a critical tradition, they did some pioneering work in the field of Marxist aesthetics. Among them were activists like Caudwell and Fox.

Marxist criticism had virtually disappeared from British letters after Morris' lectures of the 1880's. The Socialist movement produced no significant critic of art or literature, and writings by British Communists on art up to the mid-1930's consisted of only a handful of reviews and ephemeral pamphlets. Though the Communist Party of Great Britain had started functioning in the early twenties, questions regarding how a British Communist 'would behave, what he would think of art and literature, and what kind he himself would produce if he were an artist . . . were unanswered, even unasked, in 1930.'² It was only with the publishing of the *Daily Worker* (1930 onwards) and the *Left Review* (Oct'34 to May'38) that people started discussing aesthetic problems in Marxian terms. The emergence of the Popular Front, the impending War and the threat of Fascism also lead to an increased interest in the aesthetic implications of Marxism. But just when the Marxist literary theoreticians could be expected to elaborate and develop their work into something really mature, the Spanish War broke out. It took a heavy toll—among others Fox dying in Jan. '37 and Caudwell a month later.

To quote Hynes, 'In the Myth of the Thirties, . . . the Left plays a powerful role, but in the actual period, the role of the Left was not clear, nor its principles and practices established'.³ Poets like Auden, Spender, Lehmann and Day-Lewis sought means by which the arts might advance the anti-fascist and revolutionary cause but apart from Spender's

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The Destructive Element (1935), none of their criticism was rigorous enough to survive as its purpose was largely rhetorical seeking to persuade and to convert. That is one reason why the Thirties could be no better than '... a time when orthodoxy was being worked out, and this includes orthodoxy in literature'.⁴ The other reason is that the British Marxist critics, victims of the typical British insularity, were mostly unaware of the debates going on upon the Continent. It seems as if they had not even heard the names of their illustrious European counterparts like Bloch, Lukács and Brecht. Given more time, more contacts and more experiences they might have moved beyond an advocacy of the orthodox Socialist Realism. But as things stand now, they preferred not to.

Steeped in the Leninist and Stalinist variety of Marxism, Fox, too, shares and contributes to the ethos of the Thirties criticism based as that was on what, in the parlance of the New Left, would be known as vulgar Marxism. Though *The Novel and the People* is mostly 'a historical document now'⁵, one cannot ignore the fact that its roots lie in a particular variety of Marxism that exists even now. If we are to understand the intricacies and complexities of Marxist literary theory, we need to be familiar with all the variations within it. That is why Fox's work, in spite of being largely out-dated and relatively unknown, demands and deserves a study.

II

The basic arguments of Fox are derived from the stray remarks of Marx and Engels on literature and art as contained mostly in Marx's Preface to the *Critique of Political Economy* and Engels' often quoted letters to Bloch, Harness, Lassalle and Minna Kautsky. As Solomon puts it, '... the sections on literature of Ralph Fox's *Aspects of Dialectical Materialism* (1934) and his posthumous *The Novel and the People* (1937) were serious efforts, making early use of the recently published letter by Engels on art, and of Marx's and Engels' scattered comments on art in so far as these had been published in the English edition of the Soviet periodical *International Literature*'.⁶ *The Novel and the People* reads like a gloss on the extensively quoted passages from these texts. It tends towards the orthodox Marxist line on art in general and the novel in particular. At the same time, Fox eschews laying an undue emphasis on the effect of the social and economic processes on art and literature. Though his is an orthodox study of fiction, it is not doctrinaire. To quote Beeching, it 'may come as a surprise to those who have only met

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Marxism in the caricature, determinist shape wished upon it by its respectable, academic antagonists'. As Hynes says, 'It is an orthodox study of fiction in relation to society . . . it argues for socialist realism, and is anti-Freud, anti-Joyce and Anti-Proust. But it is not doctrinaire.'⁸ And as Kannabiran points out, Fox, though subscribing to the reflectionist theory of literary creation, avoids both the unilateral, undialectical conception of being as advocated by the mechanical materialist and the Caudwellian one-to-one correspondence between the base and the superstructure.⁹

To fox, the function of art is to extend man's consciousness and heighten his sensitivity to the real world. As it is the real world alone that forms the stuff of art, the essence of the creative process lies in the struggle between the creator and the external reality, in the artist's urgent demand to master and recreate that reality. 'Art is one of the means by which man grapples with and assimilates reality'.¹⁰ The real world for Fox, as for all orthodox Marxists, is identical with the objective material world of everyday existence. It is a world cognisable by senses. It not only acts upon and determines the consciousness of Man but is, as well, changed by it. Consciousness is secondary because it does not have an existence independent of matter. It is a mere refashioning of the objective world in one's mind and its translation into the language of thought. In order to perceive the world rightly i.e. as it exists in reality and not only as it exists in his consciousness, the artist needs to have a progressive outlook on life. Fox finds in Marxism this much-needed outlook on life that alone can change the reality for the better by adding to our knowledge of ourselves and the world.

Fox's aim in *The Novel and the People* is 'to examine the present position of the English novel, to try to understand the crises of ideas which has destroyed the foundation on which the novel seemed once to rest so securely, and to see what is its future' (p. 19). He looks at the novel as a creation of the bourgeois civilization, its great folkart just as the epic was of the ancient slave society and the *Chanson de geste* of the medieval feudal one.

Though Fox never acknowledges his debt to Hegel, either through ignorance or on ideological grounds, the fact remains that he follows

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him in his definition of the novel as an epic of the struggle between the individual and society. To quote Fox :

The novel deals with the individual, it is the epic of the struggle of the individual against society, against nature, and it could only develop in a society where the balance between man and society was lost, where man was at war with his fellows or with nature. Such a society is capitalist society (p. 44).

Hegel in his *The Philosophy of Aesthetics* views "epic" as a form which suited and gave witness to the total man of classical Greece — the totality lying in the unity of the private and the public realms of man. He looks at the novel as a "bourgeois prose epic", an essentially inferior form to the classical epic as it reflects the alienation of the modern man which is a result of the breakdown of the early harmony between man and society.

Fox thinks that the novel in the eighteenth century was the new "epic" rightly designed to deal with and express the whole man—the type and the individual combined into one. Dealing with the life and actions, in totality, of an individual in a concrete world, the novel is primarily a character-based art. This new type of heroic, historical, prosaic poem was designed to meet the needs of the new man, to express his desires and to picture his turbulent world. Its form is best suited to express both the inner and the outer life of man, thus providing one with a complete picture of him. To quote Fox, 'The novel is not merely fictional prose, it is prose of man's life, the first art to attempt to take the whole man and give him expression' (P. 20). He adds that the soul of man 'can only be adequately pictured by the epic style which is the real secret of the novel's success as an art form' (P. 70).

Fox traces the history of the English and the European novel right from Cervantes and Rabelais to his own time. He tries to understand the reasons for the development and the decline of the novel form. From his remarks on the novelists of the past four centuries, the major points that emerge in his theory of the novel are its epic structure, its basis in character and in action, an emphasis on reflecting and re-creating (Fox uses these two words interchangeably) the processes beneath and not only the surface of the real world and a belief in the

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capacity of the novel to change the world for the better. He is all praise for such qualities in a novel as the vigour of life, the force of imagination, humour, irony, feeling and a richness of language based on popular idiom. At the same time he feels that these may account for the greatness of a novel but not necessarily for its success.

It seems that the paradox of a great novel not necessarily being a successful novel is a result of the pressure of two different pulls felt by Fox—the pure aesthetic approach with its emphasis on formal excellence and the new content-dominated politico-aesthetic approach. He is unable, too, to understand the form/content dichotomy. Sometimes he finds them identical and sometimes he considers form to be secondary to content. It is because of these confusions that he calls Dickens great and yet a failure; that he sees Lawrence, Joyce, Huxley, West and Forster as good novelists while lamenting in the same breath the shaky present of the English novel. To him, only a novelist with a Marxian world-view, held consciously or exhibited unconsciously, can be a successful novelist. One may achieve greatness in one or the other realisms but success is assured only if you see the processes and not the surface alone. For that, one needs Marxism and its corollary in aesthetics i.e. Socialist Realism.

For accounts for the shaky present of the English novel by attributing it to the decaying capitalist order. He finds a crisis of quality in the new popular novels, a result of the commercialisation of art. The account of reality achieved in these novels does not lead one to new experiences. They are concerned only with the second-rate emotions and adolescent relationships. Another reason for the decline of the novel lies in the crisis of the outlook that had gripped the novelists in the early decades of the century. This time, he uses Freud as a scape-goat. He accuses him of generating intellectual anarchy and of leading us to complete intellectual bankruptcy. Fox's solution, as usual, to all these ills lies in choosing rightly between the two competing systems of the modern age—Capitalism and Communism. The future of the novel lies in the right choice, i.e. Communism.

Fox feels that with the advent of the "decadent" philosophies in the form of the writings of Nietzsche, Bergson, Freud and neo-Kantians, there was a complete collapse of any unified world outlook. The

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“hero” and the human personality disappear from the novel. None of the major novelists of this period is a success because the conflict between man and society is replaced by subjective struggles, sexual intrigue and abstract discussion. This is Fox at his worst. He is completely unable to appreciate modern novelists because they do not subscribe to the particular world-view that he has adopted. There is, in addition, an inconsistency in Fox’s approach. Though he divides 18th century novelists into “subjectivists” and “objectivists”, he can yet see them as truly reflecting life. He can shower praise on their style too but when it comes to the “subjectivism” of Joyce and other modern novelists, Fox fails to locate anything positive in them. He rather sees the novel disintegrating because it no longer, to him, presents reality as a totality. Bloch’s answer to Lukacs’ attack on expressionism in 1938 talked of reality being a “discontinuity” and not “totality”. Fox, even if he were alive at that time, could hardly have appreciated Bloch’s views.

On the contrary, he felt that

The whole modern approach to the problem of creation is by means of the isolation of life from reality, and eventually, through the destruction of time and the inner logic of events, the mutual interaction of the characters and the outer world is lost; it is an approach which in the end kills creation by denying the historical character of man (PP. 90-91).

He adds that

With the destruction of personality, replaced by the average individual in the average situation, or by an aspect of a personality mechanically isolated in a part of his consciousness, has gone the destruction of the novel’s structure, its epic character (P. 96).

Fox argues that in order to save the novel from decaying, we need a restoration of the historical view. The need is to depict man not merely critically but also as trying to change, through action, his condition. We need to show him in harmony with the course of history, trying to master life and to become the lord of his own destiny. To quote Fox, ‘the heroic must come back to the novel, and with the heroic its epic character’ (p. 100). The novelist must depict not

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passive men but the epic man—a man in whom there is no dichotomy between himself and his sphere of practical activity. He should be a man creating himself, living and changing life. The new novel should strengthen our belief in our own powers. It should deepen our perception of life by showing the spirit of man emerging victorious against its adversaries.

We have already noticed that Fox agrees with Hegel that the novel can develop only in a society where man is in conflict with his fellows or with nature i.e. in a capitalist society. Realism, which too, is a creation of capitalism, finds its perfect expression in the novel form. The question about the future of both the novel and realism is seen by Fox to be answered by an advocacy of Socialist realism. Making a distinction between three varieties of realism—photographic (found in the slice-of-life novels), critical (in Flaubert etc.) and Socialist—he feels that if the novel is to adjust to the new reality consequent upon the decay of the capitalist system, it will have to take the path of Socialist Realism. Curiously enough, Fox is silent about the fate of the novel in a finally achieved Communist utopia. He prefers the easier way of not writing about how the absence of the conflict between man and society in such a society would affect the form of the novel.

To Fox, writing a novel is primarily a philosophical problem as it involves character-analysis which cannot be done without grasping the nature of reality. To quote Fox, 'the artist cannot create life unless he dares to think about life' (p. 149). It is the quality of thought that distinguishes the first rate from the second rate. The job of the novelist is to understand how the final result arises from the individual conflict of his characters. He must understand the manifold conditions of life that make each of these individuals what he or she is. He must understand the historical process itself and not deal with the surface only. Fox lays a great deal of emphasis on the role of thought and understanding in the writing of a successful novel. Orthodox Marxists, with the vision of the Utopia embedded in their minds, are convinced that everything—the world, the society, Nature and Man himself—can be understood. Perhaps modernists like Beckett and Kafka would say that nothing could be, but a genuine writer, according to Fox, is not only to accept that the material

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world has an independent existence but has also a moral obligation to understand and express it. This is where Fox belongs to orthodoxy.

Fox talks in detail of how to write a novel of socialist realism. It should deal with the true reproduction of typical characters in typical circumstances. What matters is a re-creation of the living actions of human beings, of characters who are simultaneously types with a social consciousness and individuals with an individual consciousness. To quote Fox :

... each man has, as it were, a dual history, since he is at the same time a type, a man with social history, and an individual, a man with a personal history. The two, of course, even though they may be in glaring conflict, are also one, a unity, in so far as the latter is eventually conditioned by the former ... (p. 34).

This approach to the concept of Type, Fox shares with Engels and Lukács. It differs from Caudwell's view of type. To Caudwell, "Typical" represents the separation of the individual from the social and concentration on the purely social aspects of the character. But to Fox :

... the social type must [not] dominate the individual personality. Falstaff, Don Quixote, Tom Jones, Julian Sorel, Monsieur de Charlus, are all types, but they are types in whom the social characteristics constantly reveal the individual, and in whom the personal hopes, hungers, loves, jealousies and ambitions in turn light up the social background (p. 34).

In addition to this, the socialist novel must be concerned with change, with the relation of cause and effect, with crisis and conflict, and not merely with description or subjective analysis. It should be a real, historical picture of life and not a political tract. The Marxist world-view should get generated out of the situations rather than be preached. The opinions of the author do not count. If his picture is true, the Marxian outlook will automatically be immanent throughout.

The key concept, though not an original one, in Fox's theory of the novel is that of the epic structure. It is a broad concept encom-

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passing heroism in character, historicity of approach and concreteness in setting. It involves showing the living and sensuous man, the heroic man of positive qualities, in action, in conflict with the real world. It is somewhat akin to Lukács' concept of totality. Lukács bases his concept of totality on Marx's view that the relations of production of every society form a whole. To quote Lukács :

If literature is a particular form by means of which objective reality is reflected, then it becomes of crucial importance for it to grasp that reality as it truly is, and not merely to confine itself as reproducing whatever manifests itself immediately and on surface. If a writer strives to represent reality as it truly is, i.e., if he is an authentic realist, then the question of totality plays a decisive role, no matter how the writer, actually conceives the problem intellectually.¹¹

Talking of a true realist, Lukács writes that he

knows how thoughts and feelings grow out of the life of society and how experiences and emotions are part of the total complex of reality. As a realist he assigns these parts to their rightful place within the total life context.¹²

This is a passage that could as well have been from Fox's pen. Fox tries to convey in plain language what the early-Lukács states in abstract terms. The major fundamental categories of Lukács' theory of fiction like Realism and Type are openly present in Fox while others like the artist's intention (cf. Fox's world-view), Totality and Mediation are implicit in his work. In the sphere of practical criticism, too, we can see, for example, the parallel of Lukács' 1848-theory in Fox's analysis of the difference between Balzac's and Flaubert's world.

Fox feels that the novel, in order to justify its claim to be the epic of the bourgeoisie, must deal like the epic with the whole man i.e. with the individual consciousness of the characters as well as the social consciousness. It should show how the two are inter-related. He gives a graphic account of how the story of Dimitrov, his idea of the heroic figure, can be treated imaginatively and turned into a novel. Fox's explanation of the epic structure, however, remains

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inadequate. He confuses the descriptive and the normative aspects of the concept. At times he looks at it as concerned with the whole man; at others, only with the man in action. Though he would agree, it seems, with Lukács that the writer ought to understand the correct dialectical unity of appearance and essence, he never makes his ideas clear. This leaves his concept of the epic structure a hazy one.

Any critique of Fox is bound to be influenced by one's acceptance or otherwise of the basic Marxist tenets in their orthodox form. If one accepts the claim of Marxism to be a scientific approach to Man, Nature and Society, then one has to share Fox's belief that a novel, if it is truly realistic, will automatically have political value. But, to quote Solomon, 'Nowhere in Marx or Engels is there a demand that art create artificial exemplary models or serve purely utilitarian ends'.¹¹ The orthodox concept of the individual fulfilling himself through society leads to a blurring of the distinction between the aesthetic and the political value. It can lead to views such as the one held by Fox that Marx was not only a philosopher but a great artist as well. It is not that the orthodox Marxists are insensitive to Art; it is that their world-view makes them treat the relationship between Art and Society as of an inherently superior nature to that between Art and Individual. But if, even within the confines of Marxism, one approaches Art from the alternative tradition of the New Left, which under the influence of Hegel and late-Lukács has partially restored the supremacy of consciousness, then Fox's borrowed Socialist Realism seems too naive a concept to save the novel, if it needs to be saved at all.

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THE DIONYSIAN IN THE COMEDY OF JOHN ARDEN

Pankaj K. Singh

Comedy's association with Dionysus—the “god of pleasures,” “passion” and “wine,” the “god of vegetation” and the god who is “the symbol of everlasting life”¹—derives from its origin in festive rituals of ancient Greece. Plays were performed at the two main festivals of Dionysus, *Lenaea* in December celebrating rural Dionysus and *Greater Dionysia* in March celebrating urban Dionysus: “phallic songs (like comedy) were part of the festivals of Dionysus; the word *komoidia* ‘comedy’ means ‘singing in a *komos*,’ i.e. in a noisy, happy, drunken procession (such as formed part of Dionysiac festivals). . . .”² Accordingly, comedy, in its varied forms, generally includes an abundance of the essential attributes of Dionysus. The Dionysian elements are directly related to the characteristic vision of comedy which celebrates *élan vital*: “The pure sense of life is the underlying feeling of comedy” which is “an image of human vitality holding its own in the world amid the surprises of unplanned coincidence.”³

In Greek comedies, since these were nearer to their Dionysian origins, the Dionysian elements find expression in a more overt form. In addition to the costume phallus worn by the actors and the vulgar jokes related with it, Aristophanes' comedies are otherwise also replete with vulgarity, ribaldry, noise and drunkenness. A large part of the action consists of sacrificial rites performed on the stage with prayers for fertility and prosperity. In later societies the ritual spirit became mellowed and the fertility concerns also got somewhat transformed. While in romantic comedy the sexual passion takes the shape of gentler love and marriage, in satiric comedy it still retains some of its vigour in the form of occasional sexual intrigues or jokes; other attributes of Dionysus often find expression in the form of irrational irrepressible mental agility of main characters, intense pursuit of the desired object, and hilarious laughter—all of which contribute to the generally vivacious appearance of satiric comedy.

Interestingly the Dionysian elements once again appear in a robust

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and overt form in some significant comic plays of mid-twentieth century British drama. Among the dramatists of this period John Arden particularly emphasises the significance of the celebration of Dionysus in comedy :

... the theatre must be catholic. But it will never be catholic if we do not grant pride of place to the old essential attributes of Dionysus :

noise
disorder
drunkenness
lasciviousness
nudity
generosity
corruption
fertility
and
ease.

The Comic theatre was formed expressly to celebrate them; and whenever they have been forgotten our art has betrayed itself and one generally accessible and agreeable god has hidden his face.⁴

At another place Arden observes that "one of the prime functions of the theatre since the earliest time, Aristophanes and beyond, has been to inflame people's lusts" Further he says that a scene should "be able to be nice, and sexy, and at the same time make a serious point in the play."⁵ For Arden, who is a strongly committed playwright, the meaning of the play is very important, yet for him the dramatic experience is a kind of release similar to that of Dionysian religious ritual : in his advertisement in *Encore* regarding the "free public entertainment" at Kirkbymoore side in the autumn of 1963, Arden invited people "to join him in an as yet unplanned attempt to release 'the forces of Anarchy, Excitement, and Expressive Energy latent in the most apparently sad persons.'"⁶ Arden and his actress wife, Margaretta D'Arcy's description of the experience they wanted to project in presenting *The Hero Rises Up* again testifies to the importance Arden attaches to the "essential attributes" of Dionysus :

We wanted to produce it ourselves, so that it would present the audience with an experience akin to that of running up in a

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*crowded wet street on Saturday night against a drunken red-nosed man with a hump on his back dancing in a puddle, his arms around a pair of bright-eyed laughing girls, his mouth full of inexplicable loud noises.*⁷

The celebration of the Dionysian takes different forms in Arden. The most obvious form of this celebration is an abundance of drinking, dancing and singing on the stage which creates the proper hilarious, exuberant atmosphere of comedy. Arden's presentation of sex is another form of Dionysian celebration. Though sex is never the chief concern of Arden in any of his plays, still wherever it is present it is not the sick, perverted sex of most modern drama but the vital instinct, expressive of the healthy life-force; it is the spirit of "love and life," or "love and anarchy" as Musgrave would call it in *Serjeant Musgrave's Dance*. Moreover sex is often presented with uninhibited vulgarity and many times gives occasion to ribald jokes and is celebrated in bawdy songs. Apart from the atmosphere and the brief sex-episodes it is in Arden's characters that the celebration of the Dionysian is significantly present, particularly in the exuberant, indomitable characters who remain at the centre of his plays and who refuse to submit to the narrow, rigid fold of order. They are, in fact, the living embodiments of *élan vital*.

The Dionysian elements are present in some degree in almost all the plays of Arden but appear more strikingly and robustly in his exuberant comedies like *Live Like Pigs* and *The Workhouse Donkey*.

Live Like Pigs (1958) is perhaps the most richly Dionysian in spirit and hence also nearest to Aristophanes in its exuberance, vigour, wildness, hilarity, vulgarity, joy and celebration. The play builds on an attempt of the Housing Department to put into a Council house a gipsy family, the Sawneys, whose primitive kind of life comes in direct conflict with the civilized middle class neighbours, the Jacksons. The Sawneys, with their gipsy ways, keep on taxing the tolerance and rousing the anger of their neighbours till an angry crowd attacks the Sawneys who, however, are saved by the very timely intervention of the Police, but are made to vacate the house due to other complaints. The conflict between the Sawneys and the Jacksons represents the conflict between the irrational, vital, anarchic impulses in man and the

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restricting rational order imposed on individual impulses by the society.

In the conflict between the two forces, though the Sawneys are routed in the end, they dominate the scene with their sheer love of life, vigour and gusto, and keep it ringing with an almost Aristophanic celebration of Dionysus. Arden's brief notes on the characters of the play show the Sawneys to be characters of vigour and vitality, lust and life. Sailor is "a strong broad-shouldered old tyrant of seventy." Rachel is "a tall handsome termagant aged about forty," having "very long hair worn loose and an alarming tigerish laugh." Col "is much given to uncouth noises to supplement his speech, and has swift and violent mannerisms." Blackmouth is "lean and sexy . . . both insolent and obsequious." Daffodil possesses "a sly juvenile lechery" and the little ten-year-old girl Sally has "a great capacity for loud excitement."⁸ Violent, noisy, quarrelsome, merry, drinking, dancing, singing, shouting, howling, laughing, together they create scene after scene of immense vitality. The record that is played is "Cigareets and whisky and wild wild women—" with Sally and Col "beating time wildly" (p. 115). Col dances to the music "in a very strange barbarous fashion, flinging out his legs and arms and whooping" (p. 118). Blackmouth keeps howling like a dog outside in the dark while "Sally and Croaker dance in the hall to the music" (p. 149). The Sawneys living like "pigs" give the impression of life being lived to the brim, even overflowing.

It is significant that in *Live Like Pigs* sexuality is at the centre of the play and gives occasion to ribaldry and bawdy songs. It is in their attitude towards sex that Arden demonstrates the different ways of life of the Sawneys and the Jacksons. Some of the boisterous scenes are built on sexual episodes : for example, Scene Four where Rachel and Sailor wrestle passionately, "biting one another and howling in their throats" (p. 122), and later on Scene Twelve that ends in Sailor and Rachel singing together "Poor old horse, poor old horse" (p. 158). The more comic scenes are also built on sex episodes : for example, Scenes Seven and Eight that depict Jackson running out in outrage and Rachel laughing. Finally the climax of this conflict between the two families which results in the siege of the Sawneys comes with Mrs. Jackson getting to know of her husband's sexual relations with Rachel.

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The songs in the play also give expression to the celebration of animal life and some of them have a Dionysian ring :

You angry man, you rage away
Against the women's game :
But you served them your best part of you
Without a wink of shame. (p. 159)

Daffodil sings in scene Fourteen :

Up and down the road we go
He comes fast and she comes slow
Slowly slowly wait for me—
Oh—I'm so blind that I can't see.

What can't you see ?

Twenty fingers holding tight
Twenty toes in the middle of the night
Four lips. Four eyes. Four ears.
And all the rest as goes
... with his long red nose. (p. 171)

This scene ends in a frantic community action which is reminiscent of a Dionysian ritual, though in an inverted way, since the action is not associated with a fertility ritual but is an image of destruction—when all the Sawneys start “tearing the washing up and shouting : ‘we’ve got the washing.’ Up and down the house they dance throwing the washing all round and over each other” (p. 171).

Arden does not give clear-cut solutions to the problems posed in the play. Nor does he clearly identify himself with any of the characters; yet one can tell in most of his plays where his heart lies. He never paints his characters in white or black, as heroes or villains, and yet some of his characters remain more likeable than others. The Sawneys, violent, dirty, noisy, stealing, much given to a free sexual life, remain likeable because of their sheer love of life, their vitality, their openness and their lack of hypocrisy. They are the living embodiments of the vital, passionate, instinctive nature of man celebrated in ancient rituals of Dionysus. The rational Jacksons look pale, dull and lifeless in comparison.

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Arden does celebrate the Dionysian urges in man which need to be given expression but he is not for a total, anarchic release of these forces. Some sort of order has to be imposed on irrational individual energies to preserve society from destruction; hence the Sawneys are made to leave in the end when their anarchic ways and permissive sex-life become unbearable for other members of society.

Another comedy which gives a loud expression to the Dionysian urges of man is Arden's more overtly satiric play *The Workhouse Donkey* (1963). The play fully conforms to his idea of the comic theatre as it does "grant pride of place to the old essential attributes of Dionysus" which Arden lists in the Preface to the play, viz. noise, drunkenness (found quite often but particularly in the last scene), lasciviousness, 'nudity (in the Copacabana Club scene in particular), generosity, corruption, fertility and ease (to be found almost everywhere, but most of all in the last scene). While on the one hand in the intrigues and counter-intrigues Arden shows the corruption at work in society, which needs to be exposed and satirized, on the other hand he celebrates the Dionysian, anarchic self in man in some lively scenes in the play and more specifically in the character of Charles Butterthwaite who is full of life, vigour, energy and zest but who nonetheless falls because his energy is misdirected.

In *The Workhouse Donkey*, again it is a scene replete with sex, noise and drunkenness which reveals the play's satiric intention operative at various levels. The scene at Copacabana Club (Scene Nine) emerges as an image of Dionysian outburst, which can "inflare people's lusts" but which also effectively exposes the corruption at many levels simultaneously: the sexual immorality in general life, the connivance of police with such corruption, double standards, commercialised sex, etc. The manageress of the club,

Big Gloria is a gorgeous girl
And keeps many more employed
Whose gorgeous curves for gorgeous money
Are frequently enjoyed. . . .⁹

This centre of sophisticated entertainment is the centre of immorality. Young Sweetman, badly drunk, staggers across the room towards

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Butterthwaite, saying : "I represent the standards of civilization in this paleo-paleo-paleolithicalolithealithic community. I've had an education" (p. 63), and ironically with these words he collapses into Hostess's lap. Butterthwaite, the nine time Mayor of the provincial council, has gone there to gather some evidence against the conservative party which is running this club but once amidst girls, who are dressed in balloons and bells and are made to look attractive and provocative, nice and sexy, he forgets his purpose and starts enjoying himself; with undisguised lechery he shouts : "I'm here to enjoy myself.....Go on, tear it off, I want to see the lot" (p. 65). He is not a man to be led by reason or logic. Ignoring a fellow-councillor's advice, he becomes uproarious : "It's the buttock-naked truth !" (p. 65). His language is vulgar, sensual and wanton. Rebuking Lumber he says :

The General strike 1926 I'm talking about ! I know what you were doing. You warn't even wetting on your poor mother's apron. You wor nowt but a dirty thought atween your dad and his beer. (p. 38)

The presence of Butterthwaite on the stage keeps on sounding the Dionysian notes. He dominates the entire scene with his sheer zest, vitality and wantonness. Any time he has to express his disagreement over something he comes out in a loud manner; and whenever his fellow-councillors try to reason with him that he may be wrong, his instant reaction is "*(thumping his belly)* I don't need reasons. I know it in here ?" (p. 34).

In addition to Butterthwaite's character the songs, the dance, the noise and drunkenness, the foul language itself, all echo the Aristophanic exuberance and hilarity and make this comedy a liberating experience strongly reminiscent of Dionysian festivals.

Even in those plays where the Dionysian elements do not play so great a part, some songs and speeches have a Dionysian ring; for example, in *Armstrong's Last Goodnight* (1964) First Armstrong and the Maid's song :

She met wi' him in the kitchen
Wi' the strae strewn on the flair
Beside the fire he laid her down
His fingers in her hair.¹⁰

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and later the Lady's full verse speech to Gilnockie beginning with :

When I stand in the full direction of your force
Ye need nae wife nor carl to stand,
Alsweel beside ye and interpret. (p. 80)

Moreover, there is vitality in the very presence of the roaring, boisterous John Armstrong of Gilnockie who remains at the centre of the action and unmistakably reminds one of Charles Butterthwaite. This robber-baron Gilnockie is a "great bull or lion, of a man" (p. 11) and as the lady says, "ane lovely lion to roar and leap, and sure wad rarely gratify all submissive ladies beneath the rampancy of your posture . . . indeed heraldic . . . Emblazonit braid in flesh and blood" (p. 78). He is fascinating in his sheer zest, energy and daring.

Arden's presentation of women characters may also be taken into account. He usually depicts women characters either as forces of love and life, e.g. Annie and Mrs. Hitchcock in *Serjeant Musgrave's Dance*, and Lily and Nora in *The Non-Stop Connolly Show*, or as figures of vast sexual energy e.g. Lindsay's mistress, "strong" and "sensual" who is simply called The Lady.¹¹ In Arden's brief non-professional play *Squire Jonathan and his Unfortunate Treasure* (1968) the Blonde Woman is huge and voluptuous, fair and fleshy, who does not use her brains. She is repeatedly described as an "enormous beautiful woman—huge—golden—green"¹² and as a "huge embellished elephant . . . Chryselephantine. Carved out of gigantic ivory" (p. 30) as she undresses before Jonathan. In the image of the "great blonde milky woman" (p. 23) with her long thick hair over her naked body that is being decorated with jewels the suggestion of Dionysian passional, sensual, vital life force is unmistakable.

Another very sensual woman character appears in *The Hero Rises Up* (1968). Lady Hamilton, uninhibited in sexuality, is the mistress of the celebrated English hero Lord Nelson who himself is an equally sensual and passionate character. In war his anarchic energy and passion lead him to a ruthless destruction and to victory brought with "a complete disregard of casualties"¹³ In matters of love and marriage too he lives by his own laws.

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Despite a lot of violence in the play in the form of killings, shooting, and executions, *The Hero Rises. Up* is given a carnival quality with quick-moving scenes, with amours and wild dances of the two passionate, energetic characters at the centre and with all the dancing, singing, kissing, laughing and cheering flooding the scenes." On one side the stage is filled with "a bacchanalian burst of laughter" (p. 83) and on the other with "screams of terror and brutal laughter" when people are hunted out sadistically by the men of the King of Naples and "are put to death with callous abandon" (p. 38). The King gloats, 'singing and dancing in a maniac frenzy' (p. 28), at the very thought of the killings. At times the action turns into a frenzy, as for example, in the book-burning orgy at the call of the Prince, which finally ends up in a circling dance of helpless drunkards.

Another scene where the Dionysian elements are juxtaposed with the darker elements is when Caracciolo is shot dead and then thrown into the sea with weights tied to his feet and there is 'feasting, and music, and fireworks' and the sensual dance of Nelson and Emma going to bed (pp. 38-39). A more purely Dionysian scene, unaffected by any darker shadows is when Emma performs her "classical and statuesque" "Attitudes" (pp. 56-59). Allen sings the song narrating the beginnings of a whore in Emma and the Prince who had earlier refused to greet her, because of her being a whore, gets loud with excitement at the very thought of her performing the attitudes: "Good God, but she's a whopper, thought—I'm looking forward to these Attitudes—dancing naked on the tables!" (p. 56).

In the relatively darker *The Island of the Mighty* also some Dionysian outbursts appear in the form of unfolding of pagan legends and the performance of pagan rituals. The tribe of the Picts, known as "Wild Cats," with their Ambassador's violent dance, twisting her body, making strange noises in her throat, beating her hands on the floor, with their snarling Queen, with their mock dances, keeps sounding the Dionysian notes on a Christian scene. The Dionysian world invades the scene even more violently in the second part with the revelation of the legend of the Daughters of Branwen, "huge ladies of great beauty."¹⁴ which turns people into a state of frenzy, and men and women, wild-eyed, with their hair loose, indulge in indiscriminate killings.

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Gwenhwyvar, Gododdin's widowed sister, appears as an embodiment of Dionysian energy and the failing hero also seems to be made alive for a moment as he decides to marry her: "These tottering loins will yet grip a strong woman...." (p. 123). Their love-making is presented as "a very violent dance" which is more in the nature of "a mime of battle rather than love making—accompanied by as much thundering percussion as is available" (p. 127).

This fascination with the irrepressible passional energy of man is visible even in Arden's novel *Silence Among the Weapons* (1982) which is set around the Mediterranean between 91 B. C. and 81 B. C. Though the novelist cannot fully exploit the potent devices of noise and drunkenness, singing and dancing which can make the dramatic scene so effectively an expression of the Dionysian energies of man, yet the language and imagery of the narrative is striking in its vigour and wantonness, vulgarity and gusto. Its protagonist Ivory is a Greek and his being associated with the stage, first as an actor then in other capacities, provides ample occasion for references to the costume phallus and wanton entertainments like the dance of Syrian sisters performing "in a very spare costume—jewels in their navels, veils across their faces, ankle—bells, now and then transparent trousers, that's all."¹⁵ The Dionysian wantonness is more significantly integrated into the narrative in the recurrent accounts of Ivory's sexual relationships with lustful Irene and passionate Cuttlefish, where sex is experienced as an undisguised, lecherous, animal need and is narrated in an equally uninhibited and bawdy language. The novel narrates with tremendous force the brutal, vengeful, indiscriminate killings carried out in most grotesque and horrifying ways as one ruling force replaces another and a new era of violent anarchy is let loose on the City. The Dionysian relationships too in the private lives of some of the main characters simultaneously give an equal amount of furious energy to the narrative.

The celebration of the Dionysian attributes in Arden's plays is directly related to his comic vision. While Arden exposes evils and follies prevalent in society he also finds certain redeeming features—particularly the urge and capacity to live, to laugh, to celebrate, which are manifested in the rich Dionysian texture of some of his plays. In terms of plot the Dionysian characters stand defeated in the end and usually reason is shown victorious, yet they express Arden's joy in, and

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admiration of, the irrational and the instinctive nature of men, and they are made into figures larger than life who carry the scene with their loud, irrepressible energy. Though Arden never clearly takes sides with either rational characters or the irrational ones, yet his heart lies with passionate vigorous characters who are held up for celebration all along. The representatives of reason and order, or the socially committed characters are rather pale, ineffective and uninteresting in comparison. Songs, dances, noise, laughter, drunkenness and wantonness woven into the texture of the play give a festive and carnival mood to several of Arden's plays despite their not so happy endings.

By incorporating the "old essential attributes of Dionysus" prominently in his comedies John Arden has given a characteristic vigour and exuberance to modern British drama, and in this era of dark comedies he has re-established the pure, delightful, wanton and hilarious form of comedy.

NOTES

1. *Larousse Encyclopaedia of Mythology*, with an Introduction by Robert Graves (London : Paul Hamlyn, 1959), pp. 178, 182.
2. K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London : Batsford, p. 1972), 219.
3. Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form* (London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 327, 331.
4. John Arden, "Author's Preface," *The Workhouse Donkey* (London : Methuen, 1964), pp. 8-9.
5. *The Playwrights Speak*, ed. Walter Wager (1967; rpt. London : Longman, Green, 1969), p. 192.
6. Quoted in Simon Trussler, "Political Progress of a Paralyzed Liberal: The Community Dramas of John Arden," *Drama Review*, 13, No. 4 (Summer 1969), 182.
7. Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy, "An Asymmetrical Authors' Preface" to *The Hero Rises Up : A Romantic Melodrama* (London : Methuen, 1969), p. 6; emphases added.
8. Arden, notes on "The Characters" in *Live Like Pigs*, in *Three Plays : The Waters of Babylon, Live Like Pigs, The Happy Haven*, introduced by John Russell Taylor (Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1964), p. 103. All subsequent references to the play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text.
9. Arden, *The Workhouse Donkey* (London : Methuen, 1964), p. 45. All subsequent references to the play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text.

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10. Arden, *Armstrong's Last Goodnight* (London : Methuen, 1965), p. 65. All subsequent references to the play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text.
 11. Arden, "Notes on the Characters," *Armstrong's Last Goodnight*, p. 11.
 12. Arden, *The True History of Squire Jonathan and His Unfortunate Treasure*, in *Two Autobiographical Plays* (London : Methuen, 1971), p. 25. All subsequent references to this play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text.
 13. Arden and D'Arcy, *The Hero Rises Up* (London : Methuen, 1969), p. 73. All subsequent references to this play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text.
 14. Arden and D'Arcy, *The Island of the Mighty* (London : Eyre Methuen, 1974), p. 131. All subsequent references to the play are to this edition and have been incorporated in the text.
 15. Arden, *Silence Among the Weapons* (London : Methuen, 1982, 1983) p. 15.
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SOCIAL REALITY IN THE SHORT STORIES OF R. K. NARAYAN AND MANOHAR MALGONKAR.*

Alur Janaki Ram

Indian short story both in English and the regional vernacular languages is a fairly well-established and developed form, thanks to the patronage and support extended by the Sunday magazines and weeklies. The Indian short story is virtually a product of this century. Various influences from the West and the indigenous traditional varieties of the folk-tale and the fable contributed to its complex development during the past 50 years. It may be noted that the range of output in this form has been more extensive and wide-ranging, for obvious reasons, in the post-Independence era than in the period preceding Independence. Various developmental activities in educational, economic and publishing sectors and the wider circulation of little magazines have contributed to the popularity of short fiction. There are today more than a dozen prolific writers of short stories in English alone besides the well-established writers of an earlier generation like, Anand, Raja Rao, Narayan, Malgonkar, Kushwant Singh and Bhabani Bhattacharya. Most of the writers mentioned here made their reputation immediately after Independence and are now in their late sixties or seventies. They are all writers who established their reputations with well-known novels. Except Bhattacharya, all these writers have published more than two collections of short stories. Owing to limitations of space only two writers and their stories are being selectively considered for the light they throw on the Indian social scene during the last 30 years.

The short-stories of R. K. Narayana are found in three representative collections : (1) *An Astrologer's Day and other stories* (about 30) first published in London, 1947; (2) *Lawley Road and Other Stories* (Mysor, 1956); *A Horse and Two Goats* (Mysore, 1970). Narayan has recently brought out a representative collection, with samplings

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from the first two volumes and some new additions, and the volume is titled *MALGUDI DAYS* (New York, Viking Press, 1982).¹ It is useful to remember that *Malgudi Days*, in its earlier form, was first published in Mysore in 1943 and the Viking reprint is an enlarged and updated edition giving a fairly comprehensive view of Narayan's achievement as a short-story-writer. The period covered by these stories is roughly 35 years (1945-1980) and many of the stories cover varied aspects of the Indian Social scene.

Manohar Malgonkar too has so far published 3 volumes of short stories; (1) *Bombay Beware and Other Stories* (Orient Paperbacks, 1975), mostly army stories relating to the period of second World War and later, (2) *A Toast in Warm Wine and Other Stories* (Orient Paperbacks, 1974)—mostly civilian stories covering the fifties and early sixties; (3) *Rumble Tumble* (Orient Paperbacks, 1977)—a hotch-potch or a mixed bag of stories dealing with both the army and civilian backgrounds. The last collection covers the period upto 1976—the period of Emergency. Both Narayan and Malgonkar contributed their stories to well known Sunday magazines and weeklies; Narayan's earlier and later stories appeared in *The Hindu* and *Times of India* while Malgonkar's appeared in *The Illustrated Weekly* and *Caravan*. A few of the stories of Narayan and Malgonkar have also appeared in overseas magazines.

A compelling reason for coupling these two major fiction writers in English is that they are very entertaining as story-tellers and their use of the English language has also been commended by critics like William Walsh, Haydon M. Williams and E. M. Forster. Their mutual admiration for each other's craft is well-known and they are, in a way, complementary to each other as delineators of the Indian Social scene. If Narayan gives us in his short stories insights into the little town, Malgudi, and its working class and lower middle class inhabitants, Malgonkar's stories faithfully represent the urban and jungle folks besides the classes associated with the Indian army and the princely houses.

I

I shall consider a few typical stories of Narayan first since he is not only the older but the more versatile and prolific of the two. Narayan's artlessness, his ability to etch up sharply delineated charac-

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ters and scenes without wasting many words, have won critical acclaim. He has created many memorable pieces out of casual roadside events and characters. This he has been able to do not only because his love of the total and variegated life in India is unmistakable in all his short pieces but because he also enjoys the art of short-story writing. His introduction to the revised edition of *MALGUDI DAYS* is very revealing :

"The short story affords a writer a welcome diversion from hard work. The novel, whether good or bad, printable or otherwise, involves considerable labour At the end of every novel I have vowed never to write another one—a propitious moment to attempt a short-story or two. I enjoy writing a short story. Unlike the novel, which emerges from a relevant, minutely worked-out detail, the short story can be brought into existence through a mere suggestion of detail, the focus being kept on a central idea of climax.

The material available to a story writer in India is limitless. Within a broad climate of inherited culture there are endless variations : every individual differs from every other individual, not only economically, but in outlook, habits and day to day philosophy. It is stimulating to live in a society that is not standardized or mechanized, and is free from monotony. Under such conditions the writer has only to look out of the window to pick up a character (and thereby a story).

. . . Speaking for myself, I discover a story when a personality passes through a crisis of spirit or circumstances.²

Like the astrologer of his famous "An Astrologer's Day", Narayan in his short-stories gives us a "working analysis of mankind's troubles, marriage, money and the tangle of human ties." The list could be enlarged : to marriage and money may be added caste, poverty, man's inhumanity to man and animals, and religion as a kind of accommodation to the ever present challenges and disasters of life that impinge on one's consciousness in the day-to-day life in India. All kinds of people have a free ride in Narayan's short stories; municipal councillors, clever publishers, beggars, clerks, wage-earners and pavement vendors. Even animals and children too appear as

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notable characters in some of his stories. The inclusiveness of the social scene and the multitudinous details that Narayan presents are lighted by a keen and perceptive imagination.

Graham Greene, in his introduction to Narayan's *Financial Expert*, has referred to the Indian Writer's gift of comedy with its undertone of sadness, its gentle irony and lack of condemnation. Good examples of this gift are : "An Astrologer's Day", "Out of Business" and "Edge", although this comic sense permeates most of his stories. The astrologer of the well known story is a roadside foreteller of men's fortunes and this role has been forced upon him by the peculiar circumstances of his life. In his village in his younger days he was involved in a roadside brawl and he had to leave the village since he took the man he stabbed in the brawl to be dead. This was years ago. As crowning irony, the victim of his stabbing who has miraculously survived, comes to the astrologer years later on a visit to the town, to find out if he will ever succeed in tracing his enemy. The astrologer recognizes his client and discreetly gets rid of him by telling him that he would never be able to meet his enemy as he got killed under a truck long ago. When the client who has not recognized the astrologer finally leaves, the latter reaches home with a sense of relief that he could escape vendetta at the hands of his enemy so easily and that the blood of his so-called victim is not on his hands.

The story is remarkable for its dramatic suspense and reversal; the fact that the astrologer was none other than the very criminal whom his client was seeking is revealed only casually at the end of the story. After dinner sitting on the *pyol*, the astrologer tells his wife :

"Do you know a great load is gone from me today? I thought I had the blood of a man on my hands all these years. That was the reason why I ran away from home, settled here and married you. He is alive."³

When his wife almost in a state of shock asks him "You tried to kill !" the astrologer with his characteristic brevity, pacified her without letting her know further details of the tight corner he was in the same evening. "Yes, in our village when I was a silly youngster, we drank, gambled and quarrelled badly one day. Why think of it now? Time to sleep," he said yawning, and stretched himself on the *pyol*.

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"Out of Business", an early story of the 50's, depicts the depressing situation of a middle class businessman, Rama Rao, who lost all his investment in a small gramophone company of the North. When the firm was wound up, Rama Rao lost the source of his livelihood and desperately tried to secure some kind of a job at a time when unemployment and economic depression were stalking the country. As his funds and savings gradually whittled down, he was reduced to a comic, almost pathetic, reliance on crossword puzzles hoping that some kind of financial windfall would bless him and repair his wrecked fortunes. Having speculated earlier on the choice of the right word out of the given alternatives—*Hope*, *Dope*, or *Rope*—for a blank in the crossword puzzles, Rama Rao ironically finds himself choosing the course of action suggested by the word *Rope*. When the published results of the puzzles in the weekly magazine reveal that his desperate investments in the tricky enterprise have brought him nothing, he finally attempts to commit suicide by flinging himself across the railway track. The providential derailing of a goods train on the railway track some miles away and the consequent breakdown in the arrival of the train, which he was expecting to run over him, enable him to wriggle out of the mood of despair and return home with renewed resolutions for the future. Giving up the idea of staking his future on uncertain cross-word puzzles, he decides to sell his house and set up new business with whatever he can salvage from the sale of the house.

The unexpected twist at the end of the story provides a satisfactory and sane resolution to Rama Rao's problems and is typical of the sense of comedy that marks Narayan's fiction in general.

I wish to refer to some of the new stories included in the Viking Press reprint of *Malgud Days*, since the social reality depicted in these stories is indicative of what was happening in the India of the 70s. Those who went through the horrors of the emergency regime of the mid 70s and heard reports of the travails of the innocent villagers, who were compulsorily sterilised during the thoughtless family planning campaigns, can recognize in the story, "*Edge*", persons that Narayan is poking fun at. The central character of the story, Ranga, is a familiar and recognisable figure in any small town of India. A Sharpener of knives, tiny cutters and clippers used by housewives and small farmers, he

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hawks about in the streets with his portable grinding apparatus. The first few paragraphs deftly sketch the prominent and characteristic features of the middle-aged (around fifty) sharpener of knives and scissors and the adroit manner in which he coaxes his usual customers in order to make a living. Finding that his old-style occupation is not helping him to earn enough money to support a difficult wife and a schoolgoing daughter, he decides to migrate alone to the town and earn his livelihood there while the family stays on in the village. Leading a spartan life in the town and visiting his wife and daughter two or three times a month, Ranga builds great hopes of a bright future for his daughter who is the first in his family to have benefits of modern education at a Mission School.

The comic aspects of the story come to the fore in its latter half with typical Narayan touches. While Ranga is waiting for a bus or lorry to take him to the town, at the end of one of his usual visits to the family, a young man working for the government operated family planning campaign offers him a free ride in his car and takes him to the camp instead of the workplace in the town. Lured by the prospect of earning 30 rupees and a small transistor radio (beyond his reach) Ranga meekly submits to the suggestions of the campaign's tout and behaves as he instructs. It is only after lying on the operation table, when the doctor is about to commence the sterilisation operation, that Ranga realises the nature of the crisis, jumps up from the table and runs out screaming, "No, I won't be cut up . . .".⁴ The humour of the story arises partly from the situation into which he is forced—a professional sharpener of knives and cutters has to face the sharp edge of the surgical knife which, he fears, is going to cut up his body. In his usual masterly way, Narayan pokes fun at the mercenary intentions of the family planning campaign tout and the thoughtlessness of the officials at the camp who are only eager to improve their score by forcing a middle-aged man, with only one daughter, to undergo sterilisation.

Another story, "God and the Cobbler", humorously juxtaposes the incompatibility of the two worlds of the roadside Indian cobbler, subsisting on a meagre income and bare needs, and the American Hippy who has come to India in search of inward serenity. The Hippy, out to discover the wisdom of simple and spartan living, does not know yet

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what he is after. He fancies that the cobbler represents an ideal of contentment like the Indian Sadhu. While the cobbler is mending his shoe the Hippy notices that the tree under which the cobbler is sitting is raining flowers on him all the time and remarks: "You must be blessed to have a rain of flowers all day". The cobbler looks up and retorts: "Can I eat that flower, can I take it home and give it to the woman to be put into the cooking pot? If the flowers fall on a well-fed stomach, it is different—gods in heaven can afford to have flowers on them, not one like me".⁵ The cobbler's reply, notable for its homespun common sense and absence of self pity, falls on the puzzled ears of the Hippy who impatiently jumps to another query: "Do you believe in God?"

"The cobbler gestured towards the temple and threw up the arms in puzzlement, "He just does not notice us sometimes. How could He? Must have so much to look after."⁶

In an uncomplaining tone and with his characteristic naive rustic wisdom, the cobbler goes on to elaborate his conception of god's indifference to his lot in terms of a familiar analogy; the situation of a civil administrator in relation to the people of the district he is governing.

"Take the case of our big officer, our collector—can he be seen by everyone or will he be able to listen to everyone and answer their prayers? When a human officer is so difficult to reach, how much more a God? He has so much to think of . . ."⁷

The end of the story shows the imaginative distance separating the two worlds of the Hippy and the Cobbler. The restless Hippy, always on the move in search of elusive serenity, offers, before departing, as a token of his admiration for the cobbler, the gift of a silver figure of the Goddess Durga he had picked up somewhere. And the cobbler's reaction to this gesture is: "Oh, this is Durga the goddess, she will protect you. Did you steal it?" Narayan's comment is:

The hippie appreciated the question as indicating perfectly, how he had ceased to be respectable. He replied, "Perhaps the man who gave it to me stole it". To which the cobbler replied, returning the silver figure, "Keep it, it'll protect you."⁸

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erhaps, Narayan wants the reader to realise that it is the Hippie, set on a course of listless wandering, who needs the comforts of faith more than the cobbler who, however, disadvantaged he may be in economic terms, is relatively free from the pangs of spirit and doubt.

Narayan's matchless gift for etching up lively images of locales and human figures aids him superbly, when he selects a crowded market place or an exhibition in a small town as the backgrounds for his stories. "Trail of the Green Blazer", an early story dealing with the travails of a pick-pocket, is remarkable for the descriptions it offers of the motley crowds in a typical Indian market-place.

The Green Blazer stood out prominently under the bright sun and blue sky. In that jostling crowd one could not help notice it. Villagers in shirts and turbans, townsmen in coats and caps, beggars barebodied and women in multicoloured saris were thronging the narrow passage between the stalls and moving in great confused masses, but still the Green Blazer could not be missed. The jabber and babble of the market place was there, as people harangued, disputed over prices, haggled or greeted each other; over it all boomed the voice of a Bible-preacher and when he paused for breath, from another corner the loud speaker of a health van amplified on Malaria and Tuberculosis.⁹

Compare this description from an earlier story with the description of a modern exhibition, Expo 1977-78, in a big town as a later story "Hungry Child" presents it.

With thatched sheds constructed in rows, blindingly floodlit, an old football ground beyond the level-crossing had been transformed into Expo '77-78 by an enterprising municipal committee. At the Expo, as they claimed, you could get anything from a pin to an automobile, although the only automobile in sight was a 1930 Ford displayed under a festoon of coloured bulbs and offered as a prize to anyone with a certain lucky number in his ticket¹⁰

While the first passage comically presents the lively motley crowds in a typical small town, the latter description, particularly the last sentence of the paragraph, pokes good-natured fun at the intentions of

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the organisers of the exhibition, most of them elected members of the municipal council. "The organisers had succeeded in creating an incredible world of noise, glare, dust and litter". This is the way things are at an exhibition in India and Narayan's comment is typical of any educated Indian's reaction to the contemporary social scene.

Narayan's short stories, like his novels, often exhibit people stranded between tradition and modernity. They often record the comedy that springs when people like Ranga are caught up in situations of social and cultural change, unable to adopt their older modes of perception to the new situations; or the comedy of the people like the cobbler and the Hippy or the goat-herd Muni and the American tourist (as in the story "A Horse and Two Goats") speaking and acting at cross-purposes, often moving along levels that rarely meet or, if they meet, lead to wry incongruities. References to Indian philosophy or political dilemmas are always oblique in his stories which however do not fail to register an impression on our minds that India's age-old wisdom has its own relevance even in modern times, and that behind the facade of contemporary violent social changes lies the eternal unchanging India, with its rich cultural inheritance, that somehow goes on regardless of seeming deviations. As a story-teller who can present the shifting kaleidoscopic panorama of the Indian small town, Malgudi, with all the contradictions, Narayan still remains a matchless and marvellous artist. No wonder his achievements, both in shorter and longer fiction, have won so many admirers in the academic world, both at home and overseas.

II

Unlike Narayan, Malgonkar in his stories reveals a different strain of consciousness, depicting different facets of the social reality that is mostly concerned with the adventures in the outdoor world: battles, hunting in jungles or mining explorations. The stories of the first collection, *Bombay Beware and Other Stories* (1975), mostly dealt with the author's experiences in the army, particularly during the second world war, while his second collection, *A Toast, in Warm Wine and Other Stories* (1974), served up a mixed fare—vignettes of smugglers' campaigns, jungle-expeditions, politicians' gimmicks and ex-armymen's

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encounters with the civilian situations. The last collection, *Rumble Tumble* (1977), as its very title indicates, is also notable for the variety of mixed fare it offers. Apart from a few stories dealing with the hunters, tigers and boot-leggers, there are others that take up unusual themes : the activities of adventurers who want to make quick buck in the movie world or in the world of politics and business. Stories like "Old Gold"¹¹ record the changes in the social scenario from 1944 to 1975 in so far as they impinge on three generations of the Parmar business family. The changes in values and perspectives are traced with special reference to the crucial premium on gold that Parmar women folk traditionally placed. The final part of the story reveals a comic reversal : when an Income Tax raid takes place in the affluent home of the last generation Parmar member, the physician Lakpath, his mother Lakshmi discovers to her horror that the heavy lid of the pickle-jar, handed down to her by her mother-in-law as a valuable treasure, did not hide gold beneath its mud exterior, as she had all along believed, but only lead. The story also records the gradual changes that have come over the Parmar family in their material status and outlook on the world. While the women folk in the Parmar family, over the generations, were normally of conservative middle class origin, Kanta the youngest daughter-in-law of the house and wife of the affluent doctor (Lakpath), is from an affluent class with benefits of education from an American University.

"Fair Wind in Timber Land" contrasts the rapacious greed of the new commercial world with the guilelessness and hapless lot of an old-style peasant, Shamrao Maney, in Maharashtra.¹² Compelled to find resources for the wedding of his daughter, always an expensive affair in India, Shamrao is forced to undersell his ancestral jungle land to the local merchant for only eleven hundred rupees. The clever merchant Baluram, who ironically addresses hapless Shamrao "*Sawcar*" as "(which means rich lord)", succeeds somehow in impressing upon him that the jungle land cannot fetch him more than the sum offered and that the timber on his land is no longer a prized commodity in the new market. as Even Shamrao goes singing to the town happy that he has now money to buy clothes for the wedding, the clever Baluram too makes a trip to Bombay city in order to resell the land he has bought to big mining merchants. The merchants who had been informed by their geologists in advance that the jungle land contained rich managanese deposits,

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also hoodwink the petty shopkeeper Baluram into accepting Rs. 12,000 (ten times the price he offered to the village farmer) for the land. The point of the story is how the gullible village farmer, Shamrao, is unable to meet the challenges of the more sophisticated and greedy strategies of the new commercial world that Baluram and Bombay's big businesses represent. While Shamrao sells his ancestral property for a throwaway price, the local baniya or trader and big businessman of Bombay manage adroitly to have the bigger slice of the cake.

"Bondage" is another story that records the changes that have come over the political and social landscape with incisive irony.¹³ The central figure in this story too is a village landlord. Ramsa Patil, and he too wills under the superior (welts) tactics mounted by a selfish manipulative civil official. Already denuded of a huge chunk of ancestral land because of the changes in land legislation that the Congress administration ushered in during the seventies for the benefit of small farmers, the Patil family has been reduced to the abject level of a small farmer although they continue to be looked upto as noble benefactors by some illiterate peasants of the village. True to the traditions of his noble stock, Ramsa Patil undertakes to look after a young boy, Shiva, in the absence of the boy's father, Ayappa, whom he helps to undergo a crucial surgical operation, when Ayappa eventually dies, the Patil family literally become the guardians of the orphan Shiva who does odd jobs for the family in return. In mid-seventies the Indian Government enacted a new legislation declaring bonded labour as punishable offence. The Deputy Collector Godambi, who has an old score to settle with the Patil family, enforces the sanctions of the new Bonded Labourer's Freedom Act against Ramsa Patil, charging him that he has exploited the services of Shiva without paying him adequately. On the verge of retirement, the corrupt Deputy Collector, hopes to secure extension of his job after retirement by impressing upon the State Minister that he has scrupulously and rigorously enforced the new legislation on bonded labour. While Godami exploits the new legislation for his personal ends Shiva who was supposed to reap benefits from the new dispensation is reduced to the state of homelessness. The story ends with the voluntary return of Shiva to the Patil home, which is also his home. Who has really benefitted from the legislation which the poli-

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ticians in the seventies proclaimed from the housetop as their glorious contribution to the welfare of the landless? The landless boy Shiva or the self-seeking official Godambi? These are the questions Malgonkar's story invites us to ponder over.

"A Slice of the Melon", for all its humour, mocks at the party officials or workers engaged in diverting huge election funds for personal benefit.¹⁴ The narrator of the story devises an ingenious scheme for having his own 'slice of the melon' (election funds) by choosing a youngman with a name similar to that of the local party boss so that he might withdraw sizeable amounts from the election fund replenished periodically from huge voluntary contributions. At the end of the story the narrator (Shah) finds himself outsmarted. The youngman he has employed manages to withdraw all the amount from a new cheque or contribution which the narrator was hoping to utilise himself after depositing it in the bank. The point of the story is how the funds meant for election campaign are siphoned off for personal gain by the smart and greedy election campaign workers.

The story 'Pull-Push', that was published in 1969 and included in the second volume of stories, *A Toast in Warm Wine*, exposes corruption at various levels and points out how the minister, trade union leaders and class IV employees have all jettisoned decent values of administration for personal benefit. The story is notable for the cinematic technique of montage that Malgonkar is so adept at employing. The pulls and counter pressures that have besmeared the administrative and political fabric of contemporary India are effectively shown in the six scenes of the story.

Malgonkar employs the same montage device in another story "Temple Mouse", the first story of *Rumble Tumble* collection which discreetly reveals how a youngman trained in business management, an Indian Guru embarking on an overseas trip, and an Indian film actor are all out to make capital out of the brief film-shooting sojourn in Bombay of the Hollywood producer, Weinrab. The high-point of interest in the story is how the narrow circles of their respective personal interests become concentric for making a great "bang-up splash", as the Hollywood producer puts it. While the business management trainee thinks that his guru Swami Mayananda's projected

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overseas trip to America would be a major success if someone from the filmworld could be photographed with the swamiji, the producer Weinrab too thinks it would be good publicity material for his film. What is most amusing is weinrab's naive notions of the Indian holyman's needs or intentions. When told by his local distributor agent, Rasiklal, that it is difficult to secure for shooting the elephants from the religious estates or "*Maths*" with the lure of money, Weinrab says :

"Crap, If not money, they must be interested in something : girls, pot, a caddie, blue films, something. Well, find out and go and give it to him and get me elephants. Go and find out man, charter a plane...."¹⁵

Later, Weinrab realises that the contact with the Indian holy man would not only help him secure the elephants for his shooting but would enhance the exotic value of his movie too. Says Weinrab to the Indian distributor of his films in Bombay :

Say it'd be quite a gimmick ..what d'you know.... me an' Nan Shore and Dan Frost hobnobbing with a real Swami in real native clothes. Say why didn't I think of it before ? Let me get our PR on this....make a great bang-up splash. Get me long distance....yah, Hollywood,...and get me New York too....¹⁶

A word or two on the technique employed by these two writers. Narayan occasionally employs one or two innovative devices, like the device of the "talkative man" to distance the author from the actual narrator of the story, or present the story from the standpoint of Raman, as in 'Hungry child', a character who has already figured in an earlier novel. *The Painter of Signs*. Malgonkar employs the epistolary narrative mode in "Shikar De Luxe" story or the montage device in "Pull-Push" and "Temple Mouse". Both writers have also resorted to the first-person narrative point-of-view in some stories.

As I have already remarked earlier at the beginning of this paper, the stories of Narayan and Malgonkar can supplement each other in giving a composite and fairly comprehensive picture of the social scenario of India during the last 30 years. If Narayan's stories give

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us pictures of a typical Indian small town Malgudi and its inhabitants, of the events and characters of the mid South, Malgonkar's short pieces help us to know what has been going on in the cities of Bombay or Delhi or the jungles and hills of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, hill stations like Ooty or smuggler's paradises like Goa. The short fiction of both these veterans of this genre reveals the variety, diversity and depth of the Indian experience in the last three decades. The achievement of these two writers, as well as others writing in English and other major Indian languages, is a welcome sign that the Indian short story has come of age and has caught up with what is going on in the short-story genre elsewhere.

FOOT NOTES

1. *Malgudi Days* has also been published in India in recent months after its serialisation on the national TV network programme.
 2. *Malgudi Days*, (New York : Viking Press, 1982), pp. vii-viii.
 3. *An Astrologer's Day and Other Stories*. (Mysore : Indian Thought Publications, 1964), p. 5.
 4. 'Edge', *Malgudi Days*, p. 214.
 5. *Malgudi Days*, p. 219.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. *Malgudi Days*, p. 222.
 9. *Lawley Road and Other Stories*, (Delhi : Orient Paperbacks, 1967, rpt. 1982), p. 14.
 10. *Malgudi Days*, p. 223.
 11. *Rumble Tumble*, (Delhi, Orient Paperbacks, 1977), pp. 147-170.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-111.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-123.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-146.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
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THEODORE ROETHKE'S 'FOUR FOR SIR JOHN DAVIES'

Mina Surjit Singh

On 3 January 1953, Theodore Roethke, believed to be a confirmed bachelor, married Beatrice O' Connell at the age of forty-five surprising both family and friends. His own attitude to his marriage was one of unabashed delight. His letter to the Canadian poet A. J. M. Smith confirms the pride and joy Roethke experienced in this union. "I got married—don't faint—on January 3 to Beatrice O' Connell of Winchester, Va., and N. Y. C. Auden was the best man & Bogan the matron of honor (the only attendants except for her ma & pa & brother). She's v. pretty (26); Irish and German & no fool. You'll both like her, I know. I've known her for nearly ten years."¹ Marriage seems to have amounted to a revolution of the poet's sensibility, for the same year significantly, Roethke's new volume *The Waking* in which he touched upon a new dimension in his poetry, was published. The shift in Roethke's concerns was in part, a consequence of his marriage to this beautiful woman seventeen years his junior, who enthralled him as much with her looks as with her intelligence and with whom he achieved a great measure of fulfilment in his life.

That experience formed the basis of Roethke's poems is evident from the autobiographical vein that runs through the entire fabric of his poetry. It was thus, through his love for his wife that Roethke was able to move out of himself and express a joy in another. In fact Roethke seems to have gone to the extent of even drawing up a comparison between his wife Beatrice and Dante's Beatrice, the woman who finally guides him out of the darkness of chaos :

Dante himself endured,
And purgatorial ire;
I, who renew the fire,
Shiver more than twice,
From another Beatrice.

(Cp, p. 216)²

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In his *Beatrice*, the woman described in all the love poems, a woman of both physical and spiritual dimensions, he discovered another conduit towards a final condition of grace. Love provided him an opportunity to see and suffer himself in another being and transcend his selfhood thereby. Clearly, this is the message of all the love poems. The sensual, loving, musical tenor of the poems of *The Waking* and more so of *Words For the Wind* (1958), bears witness to this new dimension to Roethke's work. Although these new poems are an extension of his greater love of nature and are a continuation of the movement towards a greater realisation of the spirit, the predominant element here becomes the relationship with the 'Other', another human in form of a female—the Jungian anima that ensures protection against the dangers and darkness of the psyche. The poems of *The Waking* and *Words For the Wind* are an invocation, of this female principle, and an appeal for assistance in dealing with the still unconquered forces of the unconscious. It is quite evident that of all the mediators on his journey out of the self, the female in whom he envisages hope of renewal, is the most easily invoked for, "there is a connectedness between man and woman in the nature of things, just as there is a connectedness between human and non-human elements. Also the feminine is the symbol for the relatedness of all things and the ability to reach out to another in the world."³ The naive, self-involved sexuality of *The Lost Son* volume, makes way for a maturer consideration of love and its significance in the quest for identity. The coming of the woman heralds the incipience of a spiritual awakening, and the possibility of going through the flesh to make the spirit visible weighs as an important consideration with the poet now.

The poem which actually sets the concept of the man-woman relationship into motion and prepares us for the considerable group of love poems of the section entitled *Words For the Wind* is the beautifully executed cycle of poems, *Four For Sir John Davies* (CP, p. 105). This famous sequence in four sections, refers to the minor English poet of the sixteenth century, Sir John Davies, to whom Roethke acknowledges his debt of gratitude despite the pointed reference to Yeats though he does employ the Yeatsean metaphor of dance to express delight, beauty and perfection. Says Roethke, "Oddly enough, the line 'I take this cadance, etc.' is, in a sense, a fib. I had been reading deeply in Raleigh and in Sir John Davies; and they rather than Willie are the true ghosts

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in that piece."⁴ Davies' long poem "Orchestra" (1596), "attempts to present nature in a universal dance or solemn orderly motion. The importance of the sequence", Hoffman rightly observes, "depends primarily upon its full commitment to sexual involvement."⁵ The basic metaphor of this sequence is dancing and according to Davies, dancing is :

The child of Music and love;/Dancing itself, both love and
harmony,/Where all agree and all in order move;/Dancing, the
art that all arts do approve;/the fair character of the world's
consent,/The Heav'n's true figure and th' earth's ornament. (11,
666-72)⁶

The dance then becomes emblematic of a joyous activity of unbroken rhythm, of gay abandon, where nothing burdens the mind and all conflict stands conciliated. Since dancing is the outcome of harmony (Music and Love), to participate in a dance on earth, is to Symphonise the self with cosmic unity, the dance being a universal enterprise. This participation in creation's concordance, establishes the poet as an inseparable link in the chain of human existence (all nature being caught up in a similar terpsichorean swirl) in which everything acquires a dimension as important or as inconsequential as his.

The first section of *Four For Sir John Davies*, "The Dance" begins with an acknowledgement of the greater concordance of the universe and the lesser harmony in the mind of man :

Is that dance slowing in the mind of man
That made him think the universe could hum ?
The great wheel turns its axle when it can;

but the poet makes a commitment to himself that he'll "Sing and whistle romping with the bears." Not only will the sway with the movements of the earthly bears signifying the rhythms of nature, but he will also move in the orderly motion of the celestial constellations—the Ursa Major and the Ursa Minor. The terrestrial bears bring into sharp focus the physicality of our great dancing bear (despite all his fine sensibility Roethke was ursine himself), as well as establish from this point on, the bear as emblematic of a spontaneous sense of play.

O watch his body sway !—
This animal remembering to be gay.

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The poet tries to fling his "shadow at the moon" the implied female presence. The attempt is evidently as much a desire for physical union, as it is an effort at release from the superimposition of his shadow, the Jungian alter ego. Albeit just an attempt, nevertheless the very gesture makes his "blood", his very being, "leap with wordless song", underscoring the sexual import of the dance, a mutually willed activity but incomplete on account of the protagonist's solitary participation.

Davies refers to the moon as "heaven's great gate," (l.915) suggesting quite unambiguously that it is the orb of the moon which bisects the world of mutability and immutability. Keeping in mind this analogy, the woman (the moon) comes to represent the figure which will impart a sense of wholeness not only to the poet's dancing activity, but to his very being. Being a creature of physical and metaphysical dimensions, she will lead him to spiritual, even mystical heights. Felicity for Roethke is no unbodied joy but is the joy of "A body with the motion of a soul" (CP. p. 188) and this contributes to the inference that spiritual expansion for the poet will be an attribute of physical union. The need for "The Partner" thus arises out of an overwhelming desire for fulfilment through the dance which resolves the male-female dichotomy.

"The Partner" actually brings together the poet and his beloved in dance. The poem begins with the poet "perplexed" between "animal heat" and "human heat", between sexual desire and spiritual longing. Does he wish merely to satisfy his baser animal lust now aroused by "that woman [who] would set sodden straw on fire" or does he desire to generate spiritual energy and reach out selflessly "to make some one else complete?" Even while rejoicing in this woman's beauty and her amazing sexual power over him, the poet questions the genesis of his craving. These oscillations between such contrasting mental states, makes it immediately clear that this relationship will be more than just the physical or sensual love between man and woman. The woman arouses fleshy passions in the man to a pitch wherein he surrenders unconditionally not only to the demands of his carnality but also to the 'other', throwing caution and restraint to the winds :

Do what the clumsy partner wants to do !
 Things loll and loiter. Who condones the lost ?
 This joy outleaps the dog. Who cares ? Who cares ?
 I gave her kisses back and woke a ghost.
 Oh what lewd music crept into our ears !

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Such singular engagement in the love-act wherein the poet is even prepared to incur mortality (an allusion to the Elizabethan association of onanism equalling death) for this spiritually edifying union which transgresses all temporal limits, lifts the lovers into the world of immutability. The process of giving the self in purely erotic submission, miraculously transforms and sublimates to a realisation that the lovers can together counteract the incubus of obscurity. He "the body" and she "the soul" can jointly affect a contravention of despondency and despair. This female presence is the "light" which will "alter the light along the living ground." She is the real woman who comes as a fulfilment of the female spirit of "The Visitant". She draws the poet into a social context and lifts him above the animality of his baser nature so that he can exclaim optimistically :

The body and the soul know how to play
In that dark world where Gods have lost their way.

I would like to elucidate that darkness here, could plausibly be associated with the world of physical desire which presumably holds promise of spiritual rejuvenation and hence offers a more comprehensive vision of reality vis-a-vis the eclipsed vision of the celibate. To quote Ralph Mills, "Overtly sexual gestures, generate metaphysical overtones until we sense that Roethke attains a kind of visionary intuition of human possibility through his dancing lovers. . . . The 'dark world' of which the poet speaks is undoubtedly the maze of love and bodily attraction. It may further imply the realm of the human, fully realised in the sexual and spiritual bond of the pair, as opposed to the supernatural plane of being altogether removed from life." The poet sees the sexual act as both a moving away from isolation as well as a harmonious recovery of life. It becomes quite clear that the love experience for him is no encumbrance or burdened commitment but an enriching and wholesome experience.

"The Wraith" takes on the plural pronoun of "we" thus enhancing the mutuality of the love experience. There is "gaiety", there is "dread" but the communion is unalloyed :

The spirit and the flesh cried out for more.
We two, together, on a darkening day
Took arms against our own obscurity.

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The struggle against their "own obscurity" becomes a joint venture with equal stakes for the other's sake, a profitable means of sending the self towards the other and affecting a mergence. The sexual overtones have the resonance of a deeper tie which binds the centre, the very core of their beings :

Did each becomes the other in that play ?
She laughed me out, and then she laughed me in;
In the deep middle of ourselves we lay;

This poem echoes the emotion of the previous poem :

There was a body, and it cast its spell,—
God pity those but want on to the knees,—
The flesh can make the spirit visible;
We woke to find the moonlight on our toes.
In the rich weather of a dappled wood
We played with dark and light as children should.

In a state of pure spiritual union achieved through the intense climax of the sexual act, the lovers are capable of rising "to meet the moon". Physical love thus becomes a religious experience whereby the poet transcends the material world and redeems his fleshy nature. Roethke has doubtlessly traversed a great distance from a hatred of his "epidermal dress/The savage blood's obscenity" (Cp, p. 19), to the euphoric realisation of the possibilities of the flesh as potential media for divine love. The poem expostulates how a woman's beautiful body can typify what seems to be his greatest desire—immortality, the only condition that sees all opposites resolved. The experience of a perfect sexual union that embodies physical as well as spiritual love, is gathered together and cherished for the promise it holds. Sexual love becomes a precondition to a final condition of grace. The rhythmic movements of the sexual act thus come to represent the concordant rhythms of the universal dance.

"The Vigil" begins with a reference to Dante's Beatrice, reinforcing the poet's faith in the man-woman relationship :

All lovers love by longing, and endure :
Summon a vision and declare it pure.

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Likewise, the poet is convinced that this wraith, his idealised woman, will lead him through murkiness into light. Love transforms the "obscurity of the visible", an obvious reference to the dark world of tangible reality, into the light of the purely spiritual. Significantly, Roethke's relationship with his wife as mentioned earlier, was also a satisfying one, an experience which brought a lot of balance and stability in his life. This section too reinforces what Roethke believes to be the true office of love—the power to stave off the environing dark :

We danced to shining; mocked before the black
And shapeless night that made no answer back.
We dared the dark to reach the white and warm.

Through their mutual participation in the ecstasy of the love experience the lovers are caught up in a spiraling motion which rings them round with an unbroken circle of light and warmth. The sexual act, the dance and the light and warmth of a spiritual awakening, thus become synonymous. The lovers unite to undo "chaos to a curious sound." Their coming together in such selfless surrender smoothens the chaos of discordant notes to the harmonious humming of the cosmos. Bodily union results in unqualified submission wherein :

She was the wind when wind was in my way;
Alive at noon, I perished in her form.

It is easy to infer then, that in that moment of intense bliss the poet has intuitively come to an epiphanic moment, arrived at through a fall to carnality :

Who rise from flesh to spirit know the fall :
The word outleaps the world, and light is all.

It is this fall which replaces the image of the corporeal woman by the sense of pure spiritual light filling space. Certain critics hold the view that the lovers do not actually outleap the "world" but the "word" does implying that the lovers are lifted from the mutable world into a realisation of the spiritual world through the very act of literary creation. It is more likely, however, that the poet refers here to the "fall" of the previous line as being representative of the sexual experience which is metamorphosed into a transcendental and illuminating

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infinity, through unmitigated deference. Love ("the word") can out leap the physical ("the world") to become pure but the fall is a precondition to obtaining grace. The fall of man is what accounts of his striving towards a union with the godhead he has lost. It then becomes man's greatest impetus towards the attainment of a higher form of life. Says Roethke :

The Depth calls to the Height
 —Neither knows it.
 Those close to the ground
 —Only stay out of the Wind.

(CP, p. 97)

Just as Dante's route to the Delectable Mountain lies through the Inferno, so also Roethke comes to spiritual illumination through this sensual encounter. Roethke's woman as in the love poems, is associated with light. The theme of *Four For Sir John Davies* is the resolution of opposing elements and the poet does succeed in achieving a great measure of fulfilment in this direction. Sexual guilt and sexual desire are reconciled as is the concept of renewal in death connoted in the sexual act. Physical love and spiritual awakening are accepted as concomitants. The ultimate union of spirit is affected through the perfect union of bodies and death becomes a form of spiritual resurrection.

The victory over the powers of darkness and non-being, however, is yet at best, tentative. There is a growing awareness of the immensity of what the lovers are taking up cudgels against, namely their obscurity. The poet realises that the love relationship too is not free from the dangers inherent in the regressive darkness of *The Lost Son* sequence. The sceptre of his own extinction, the fear of being annihilated by the anima is ubiquitous. These concerns, however, tentatively recede in the euphoria of his new-found relationship. Love has enabled him to experience the other so completely that it remains for the moment, his major concern. Roethke's love poetry though committed to the spiritual remains very much within the realm of the physical. The woman is the medium through which he communicates with nature as well as that which lies beyond the incarnate. *Four For Sir John Davies* initiates the movement towards the penultimate stage of the protagonist's

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journey towards illumination and union, namely self-surrender. Once his potential for selfless surrender has been fully realised, he can affect a transference of that love to God the ruling principle of his life.

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BILLY BUDD : THE QUESTION OF THE NARRATIVE VOICE

Sachidananda Mohanty

Melville's *Billy Budd* has revealed itself to be a work of baffling moral and aesthetic complexity, 'a kind of Nabokovian game in which the pleasure lies in following the clues that lead everywhere and no where.'¹ Apparently inspired by contemporary incident of the Somers mutiny,² the 'inside narrative'³ has thrown up a host of bedevilling theological and metaphysical issues.

An examination of some of the major critical approaches suggests that opinion is polarised in two main directions. According to the first, *Billy Budd* represents 'Melville's Testament of Acceptance'⁴ whereas, the second looks at Billy's tragedy in ironical terms as the predicament of a pure and innocent nature in a fallen world.⁵

One of the factors that might account for the ambivalence in vision is the specific narrative voice used by Melville. And yet, a review of the bulk of the existing criticism shows how few of the critics have paid close attention to this aspect. A great many seems to generally accept the point of view as perfectly credible and trustworthy. It will be the aim of this paper to prove that such an assumption is, infact, based on patently false premises. A closer look at the functioning of the point of view would reveal disquieting features that seriously undermine the authenticity of the narrator. Such a radically different perception of the narrator's role, would, in turn, question the validity of many of the critical approaches that seek to pronounce moral judgement on three of the principal characters : Billy (William Budd), Captain Vere, and Claggart, the Master at Arms.

Indeed, an inadequate awareness of the narrator's function has often led to critical positions that are more in line with the critics' temperamental preferences rather than based on a rigorous scrutiny of the text. Thus, for instance, when Newton Arvin sees *Billy Budd* as 'Melville's

version of a primordial fable, the fable of the Fall of Man, the loss of Paradise,⁶ he obviously has in mind such evidences as the narrator's description of Billy as 'Adam before the Fall,' Claggart as the embodiment of 'natural depravity' (867), his glance 'one of serpent fascination,' (867). Similarly, Wendell Glick's study of *Billy Budd* as an opposition between 'absolute morality' and 'expediency' is based on a number of significant digressions in the narrative relating to the larger socio-political reality'. These digressions, again, come through the narrator to colour our attitude. Billy has been seen as 'an angle of God' and to the sailors the spar from which Billy's body had hung appears to be a piece of the cross, a description that reinforces the Christ symbolism. According to Glick, the question whether Billy's death represents 'a testament of acceptance' or a spiritual triumph finally hinges on the crucial allusion to Nelson on page 823.

Though Nelson's act of facing death at Trafalgar may appear to be a deed 'of foolhardiness and vanity' to 'the Benthamites of War' who would condemn it as vainglorious and inexpedient, nevertheless, Nelson emerges as a 'trumpet to, the blood,' 'more simulating to the hearts of Englishmen than the name of Wellington.' The acts which on the surface seemed sheer bravado, 'still inspired posterity to deeds of greatness.' Thus, Billy's death, like Nelson's, underscores a psychological triumph.

As we shall see presently, not only are Arvin's and Glick's positions undermined by many conflicting evidences provided by the same narrator, but what is more vital is that they have, throughout, taken the narrator as omniscient and therefore reliable. Even Theodore Gross in his otherwise illuminating study asserts that in *Billy Budd*, 'spiritual transcendence triumphs over the authority of the secular world.'⁸ However, as we shall soon show, this omniscience of the narrator does not hold true. The breakdown of the narrator's credibility, in turn, should make us suspicious of his accounts, leading us possibly to an alternate line of enquiry.

Holding the narrator as a key to understanding the novel is not a new discovery. Even as far back as 1952, Lawrence Thompson in his incisive analysis of *Melville's Quarrel with God* suggests that the 'fictionally contrived narrator' uses 'the principle of sustained irony' in order to create 'the artistic illusion that the narrator sympathizes throughout, with

the authoritarian view point of Captain Vere and praises Vere's actions, even though these actions are at several points palpably unpraiseworthy.⁹ However, the best treatment of the subject has been done by Lyon Evans. In his perceptive essay, Evans pays extremely close attention to the nature and function of the narrator and concludes that the 'variability' of evidence cannot 'be resolved into a single determinate account of Billy's character because the different scenes of Billy that the narrator gives us do not add up to an integrated human being.'¹⁰ Evans, instead, sees *Billy Budd* as an inverted Christian allegory which represents an acceptance of 'life as it is taken straight, without the 'magical drug' of false religious optimism'¹¹ Thompson had asserted that the true reading of *Billy Budd* upsets the orthodox Christian allegory of equating Billy with 'innocence,' Vere with 'fair repute,' and Claggart with 'infamy' and 'spiritual depravity' (following the notes made at the end of the manuscript by Melville). However, in terms of 'that sinister allegorical meaning which better satisfied Melville' both Vere and Claggart seem to embody in them 'spiritual depravity' and 'fair repute.' Evans interprets both Jesus' crucifixion and Billy's hanging in secular terms. For him, Vere is Pontius Pilate whose behaviour as given by the narrator is 'problematic and largely unknowable.' This is because, as in the case of Jesus' trial, here too 'words and actions take place against a backdrop of dimly perceived turmoil and intrigues.' Vere is 'a skilful manipulator of patriotic and religious forms.'¹² Evans alludes to the other works of Melville and contends that Melville was aware of 'Higher Criticism,' of the contemporary biblical scholars who studied the Bible not as the Words of God but as a secular document emphasizing the sociocultural aspects. Billy Budd therefore becomes a 'parody of the gospel, in which the surface piety is undermined on the second ironic level of meaning.'¹³ In effect, Billy, like the Christ, is 'not the idealized Saviour of the Waning Age of Faith but the problematic man of the Higher Criticism.'¹⁴

While Evans' analysis of the narrator is admirably flawless, we shall have to consider carefully his conclusions. Let us, to begin with, examine the narrator afresh.

The narrator, we find out, is no common sailor; he is remarkably well informed about the naval history. As pointed out by Thompson, he is some sort of 'a naval historian with a bias in favour of constituted authority'.¹⁵ 'This is revealed chiefly in his disapproval of the

French Revolution as anarchical. He unfolds the story gradually and unobtrusively. We accept his hazy knowledge of Claggart and Billy's earlier lives as plausible as he is after all distanced in time. There are seemingly unplanned digressions and the narrator must remind himself 'to return' to the main story, (as on page 808). He thus establishes a rapport with the reader, taking him into confidence. He does not, however, keep himself confined to the literal details of the story, and drops in, now and then, significant images that have a great deal of metaphorical value. For example, Billy is compared to Hercules (816) and to Adam (817). But the narrator is also cautious that such images should not romanticize the story. Indeed, he insists that his approach is going to be down to earth, that his story is 'no romance.'

Added to this attempt at realism, the narrator also wins over our confidence by showing an impressive knowledge of the larger world beyond the immediate scene of action : the reference to the Nore Mutiny, and the significance of the Battle of Trafalgar. Thus, he reveals a perception of the larger historical forces, evokes our admiration and thereby creates in us 'a willing suspension of disbelief.'

Further, the narrator explores the inner recesses of the human psyche and unravels the theological and metaphysical causes that govern human action (842). In fact, there is little that seems to escape the eye of the apparently omniscient narrator. He discloses, for instance, that Claggart's antipathy towards Billy was largely 'a disdain of innocence' (845). Billy's failure to respond to the preposterous charge made by Claggart basically springs from 'inexperienced nonage' and 'the horror of the accuser' (867). Finally, we are given a graphic account of all that happened in Captain Vere's mind before it culminated in the final declaration that sealed the fate of Billy : 'Struck dead by an angel of God. Yet the angel must hang.' (869).

However, there is a major *volte-face* of the all-knowing narrator on page 884, at the beginning of Section 23. And it takes the reader by total surprise. Speaking of the meeting between Captain Vere and Billy, the narrator remarks :

'Beyond the communication of the sentence what took place at this interview was never known. But some conjectures must be ventured.'

Why, we may wonder, has the narrator suddenly assumed this self-limitation ? Alternately, granted that this is a conscious artistic device, what purpose can it serve in the overall thematic or artistic design ?

This uncertainty of tone persists even in Captain Vere's reaction on page 894. Whether it was through 'stoic selfcontrol' or a sort of momentary emotional paralysis that the Captain was immobilized is not made clear. Even at the naval encounter between the *Indomitable* and the *Atheiste*, the Captain's last words only leave a pronounced enigma. Earlier, in order to forestall any nagging suspicion by the reader, the narrator had declared :

'The symmetry of form attainable in pure fiction cannot so readily be achieved in a narration essentially having less to do with fable than with fact. Truth uncompromisingly told will always have its ragged edges, hence the conclusion of such a narrative is to be less finished than an architectural finish' (899).

It may be also said that the narrator's evidence for and against Claggart is so evenly matched that it is hard to decide whether he was a criminal or a reprobate. He therefore ascribes to Claggart a 'natural depravity.' But paradoxically, according to the narrator's own definition, the depraved man is in his 'outward proceedings ... always perfectly rational' (61), always folded 'in the mantle of respectability.' Significantly enough, 'the honest scholar's anecdote' itself suggests that respectability is no sure sign of authenticity (58). Even the narrator calls it 'that manufacturable thing.' (17).

According to Evans, not only is the narrative full of such gross contradictory stances taken by the narrator, he even goes further and concludes that despite the narrator's own claims, Billy's romanticized character is undercut by a subversive irony that undermines the spiritual nature of the allegory. He substantiates this viewpoint by alluding to Melville's allegedly sceptical predisposition which he finds reflected in a number of his other works.

While one admires Evans' commendable analysis, I am afraid, his basic conclusion that Melville's moral and spiritual vision in *Billy Budd* is identical to that of the Higher Criticism is based on inadequate

circumstantial evidence that he merely alludes to. By his own admission the narrator's statements are so strongly equipoised that no definite attitude seems to emerge.

Indeed, a review of the study of Melville's religious thought confirms precisely this view. For instance, William Braswell in *Melville's Religious Thought, an essay in Interpretation* (1943) concludes that 'Melville hesitates between belief and disbelief not merely in preliminary questions in *Typee*, in the introspective *Clarel* and in the valedictory *Billy Budd* but in all his writing.' In different ways, Richard Chase in his 'Dissent in Billy Budd' agrees that 'the moral situation in Billy Budd is deeply equivocal'.¹⁶

On the basis of my study of the narrator I am inclined to reiterate Stanley Williams' observation that there are no definite answers in Melville, but only questions. The reason why Melville employs an ambiguous narrative voice is not for the impish delight of confusing his readers; nor is it because of the need of a subterfuge to hide his supposedly anti-Christian views, his so called tirade and bitterness against God, but because every book of Melville, as Sedgwick remarked, has an 'exploratory character.' So that 'Melville's writing as with Shakespeare's, leave us with evidence for almost any conclusion regarding good and evil.'¹⁷

Such an ambivalent resolution will surely disappoint those who seek definite moral truths in a work of art; it nevertheless, confirms Melville as a mature artist who regarded the life experiences as profoundly complex and at times deeply equivocal.

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1. Lyon Evans, Jr., 'Too Good to Be True' : Subverting Christian *Hope in Billy Budd*.' *New England Quarterly*, Boston : NEQ, Sept. 1982) p. 353.
2. An article on the Somers Mutiny appeared in *Cosmopolitan Magazine* when Melville was working on *Billy Budd*. See Charles R. Anderson, 'The Genesis of Billy Budd,' *American Literature* 12 (1940), 329-46.
3. Herman Melville, *Selected Writings*, (New York : Random House, 1952), P. 807. All subsequent references unless otherwise stated will be to this edition and parenthetically given.
4. See E. L. Grant Watson, 'Melville's Testament of Acceptance,' *NEQ*. 6 (June 1933), 319-27.
5. See Lawrence Thompson, *Melville's Quarrel with God* (Princeton : Princeton University Press 1952), pp. 355-414.

6. *Melville's Billy Budd. and the Critics*, William T. Stafford. Ed., (Belmont : Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966), p. 136.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
8. Theodore S. Gross, *The Heroic Ideal in American Literature*, (New York : The Free Press, 1971) p. 49.
9. Lawrence Thompson, *Melville's Quarrel with God* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 360.
10. Lyon Evans, 'Too Good To Be True' : Subverting Christian Hope in *Billy Budd*, *NEQ* (Sept. 1982), p. 344.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
14. For an understanding of the 'Higher Criticism' and a study of *The Bible* as a historical text, please refer to J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, (London : Longman's, Green, 1903) and Stephen Neills' *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1964).
15. Herman Melville, *Billy Budd : Sailor* (An Inside Narrative) ed. Milton R. Stern, (Indianapolis : Bobbs-Merrill, 1975), p. 71.
16. Stanley T. Williams, 'Melville' in *Eight American Authors : A Review of Research and Criticism*, (New York : W. W. Norton and Company, 1963). p. 230.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

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4. Evans Lyon, Jr., 'Too Good to be True : Subverting Christian Hope in *Billy Budd*.' *New England Quarterly*, (Boston : *The NEQ. Inc.*, Sept. 1982).
5. Glicks Wendell, 'Expediency and Absolute Morality in *Billy Budd*' *PMLA*, (1953).
6. Gross Theodore L., *The Heroic Ideal in American Literature*. (New York, The Free Press, 1971).
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8. Melville, Herman. *Selected Writings*, (New York : Random House, 1952).
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11. Watson E. L. Grant, 'Melville's Testament of Acceptance,' *NEQ*, 6 (June 1933).
12. Williams Stanley T. 'Melville' in *Eight American Authors : A Review of Research and Criticism*, (New York : W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1963).

PLOT vs : EXPERIMENT : CHANGE IN MODERN FICTIONAL STYLE

M. Mani Meitei

Every fiction reader is familiar with *plot* and *story*. A plot is a formulation of basically external means to give causality of events set against a chronology of time. In *Aspects of the Novel* E. M. Forster has defined story and plot in apparently unquestionable terms: The story is "a narrative of events arranged in their time sequence" and plot "is also a narrative of events, the emphasis falling on causality." (*Aspects of the Novel*, p. 93).

Novels from the eighteenth century to the close of the nineteenth century comprise a long history of a great tradition founded on Forster's concepts of plot and story. Associated with plot or story, as Hardy observes, is the desire "to give pleasure by gratifying the love of the uncommon in human experience". (Miriam Allott : *Novelist on the Novel*, p. 3). To attain this, the real purpose of fiction, the novelist sets his story in the past so as to enable him to bring in incidents and events which are marvellous and improbable, effecting the uncommon in human experience but believable. With it the sense of the presentness of the present is successfully provided by the portraiture of real characters (real characters in the sense that they are amply normal, and true to human nature) who are set in time present or near to the present, so as to convince the reader that they have as much reality as he has himself. The method was successfully adopted almost by all the leading novelists of the past two centuries. This, however, is seen in the novels of Henry James and Forster in modern British fiction. Moreover, to elevate the purpose of the art of novel writing from the ordinary plane of life the novelist employs mystery, suspense, fantasy, conflict, discovery and so on till the final denouement comes.

Although it was the convention of novel writing for a long time that every novel had a story to tell as a prerequisite, as is found in *Tom*

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Jones, Pamela, Joseph, Andrews, Vanity Fair, Middlemarch, Great Expectations, The Return of the Native etc., there came a historic turn in the art of novel writing in the first two decades of the present century. It was marked by the rise of a new novel, better known as the "stream-of-consciousness novel". Contrary to that of the traditional novelist's art of novel writing by making up plots, the stream-of-consciousness novelist entirely dispensed with plot construction. "I can make up situations," declares Virginia Woolf, "but I cannot make up plots." (Virginia Woolf : *A Writer's Diary*, p. 118) The new novelist wrote a new "type of fiction," says Robert Humphrey, "in which the basic emphasis is placed on the exploration of the prespeech level of consciousness for the purpose primarily of revealing the psychic being of the characters." (Robert Humphrey : *Stream of Consciousness in the Modern Novel*, p. 1). The effort to capture the unspoken or inarticulate state of human consciousness makes changes in the traditional fictional art inevitable relegating plot and story-telling to just an outline.

Now plot was a proper novelistic tool when man's image was integrated, and he himself represented or he was represented as an integral part of a stable social structure. While the function of art was extrinsic (rather than intrinsic), i.e., it was to have an aim with socially beneficial or enjoyable by way of telling a delightful story with irony or allegory or adventure or at least some moral implication put forward, and having an image of integrated life in society in the form of love, friendship and marriage, plot served to effect an artistic fiction. Under the stress of changes and the resulting uncertainties, chaos, anarchy and confusion, the origin of which is attributed directly or indirectly to man—an agent of crisis in the modern civilization—*intrinsic values once little known, have become a subject of great interest.* The notion that chaos could not be expressed in terms other than itself had a far reaching consequence in literature and this led to experimentation. The plotless stream-of-consciousness novel emerged, just as in drama *The Theatre of the Absurd* sprang up—both in the hands of avant-garde young radicals.

Intensifying the point of view of Henry James and the attempt of Conrad to put the narrator inside the story for comment and explanation, Dorothy Richardson was busy with her own problem of finding

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what she called "a feminine equivalent of current masculine realism" (in her Foreword to *Pilgrimage*), while Joyce also remained superbly dedicated to an intense literary ambition : "I have recorded, simultaneously, what a man says, sees, thinks and what such seeing, thinking, saying does to what you Freudians call subconscious." (E. R. Steinberg (ed) : *The Stream of Consciousness Technique in the Modern Novel*, p. 154).

The English novel up to the Edwardian period did not pay any attention to this subjective "element of incoherence in our conscious process" (Beach : *The Twentieth Century Novel*, p. 517), and so the stream-of-consciousness novelist had to look beyond the English Channel to France and Russia for inspiration. They laughed at their predecessors who were plot makers. Joyce's contempt for the English novelists (and for the English language also) was of an extreme type : all his life he was abroad under the guise of self-exile except that he came twice back to Dublin. This is the route he followed throughout his life : Paris, Dublin Zurich, Trieste, Rome, Dublin, Trieste, Paris. Expressing his own deep-rooted hatred of contemporary English novelists, Joyce wrote to his brother from Rome in 1906 : "Without boasting, I think I have little or nothing to learn from English novelists." (Robert Martin Adams : *After Joyce*, p. 8) Notably he learnt without any grudge from Ibsen, Flaubert, the French Symbolist poets, Dante, Homer, Shakespeare, Blake, Swift, Defoe and Vico. Joyce's knowledge of and fluency in English, Italian, French, German, and twelve other tongues including some dialects make his language turn from the conscious as in *Ulysses* to the dream language in *Finnegans Wake*. In more or less the same way Virginia Woolf says her predecessors had provided a house in "the hope that we may be able to deduce human beings who live there" ("Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown," *The Captain's Death Bed*, p. 106) but the house to her mortification, just cannot accommodate the present concept of life. Nothing of the old remains suitable for the new generation, to which Virginia Woolf, Joyce, Dorothy Richardson, Forster, Lawrence and Eliot belong. Virginia Woolf continues to assert that if the novelist is concerned with the quality of mind or human nature or the revelation of soul in the French and Russian mode of expression of characters, then "there would be no plot, no comedy, no tragedy, no love interest or catastrophe in the accepted style". ("Modern Fiction," *The Common Reader*, First Series, p. 189).

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The concept of comedy or tragedy is basically related to the action of the hero which might result in his rise or fall. These terms have become unceremonious in spheres relatively confined to the significance of moments of being. Such independent moments cannot be reduced to limiting terms, comedy and tragedy. Carefully observed, life's states and inner workings of mind would seem far from any precise shape and form to be put into definite plot pattern. Any novelistic effort in that direction would lead to wastage of material, and one might not be able to see the wood for the trees.

At the same time, the impact of the times on the nature and relevance of themes is noteworthy and has to be reckoned with. So far as love interest is concerned, modern anti-heroes are incapable of indulging in the same. The heroes are set against fleeting backgrounds, where scenes, characters, milieu, personality and impersonality are merged to make outlines blurred indistinguishably one from another. The absence of courtship or even a healthy mood of it in the stream-of-consciousness novels is an expression of the age's indifference to comedy or tragedy. In this context David Daiches's view deserves attention :

In the Restoration period the seduction of a girl by a young man was a comedy; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was a tragedy; but in all cases it was something significant, one way or the other. To a twentieth-century mind it might well be neither comedy nor tragedy—simply a wholly unimportant detail. (*The Novel and the Modern World*, p. 8).

It appears that the theme of love and marriage in modern fiction as a whole is not overemphasized; rather it becomes merely an unimportant fact, and its treatment remains mostly sketchy. Besides this, it loses its moral and other social significances, as storms of questioning attitude are being raised against the institution of marriage. After reading Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*, Joyce's *Ulysses* for instance, one needs to reassess the prejudices concerning marriage. The apparent inconsistencies in the mind of the modern anti-heroes are due to psychological rather than sensual factors. A modern man looks upon marriage neither as a social function nor a spiritual need. Hugh Walpole *et al* is correct in his stand : "The

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Victorian novel assumed quite falsely that marriage was the best possible haven for its more virtuous characters. We have changed all that in our lives as well as in our novels." (*Tendencies of the Novel*, p. 26). So a stream-of-consciousness novelist, in his attempt to convey the spirit of the age, has to discard love interest in his novel except that it may figure feebly in the background. Since the stream-of-consciousness novelist is concerned with the rendering of the inner reality of mind the business of marriage as a theme appears to have been rendered rather insignificant.

To illustrate a few more points of plot versus experiment the following facts may be stressed. The experimental novel draws the reader inside the character's mind; the novel is a product of the novelist who is a self-introverted personality. He is deeply involved with soul, and the story he uses is a matter of ego problem of *id* problem. In Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*, Neville says :

Bernard says there is always a story. I am a story. Louis is a story. There is the story of the boot-boy, the story of the man with one eye, the story of the woman who sells winkles.
(*The Waves*, p. 27).

The 'story' referred to here is an inside story of the characters, a symbolic aspect of the insubstantial reality that transcends all superficial concepts of time, self and fixity of things while the characters blend themselves with the ebb and flow of the permanent nature of flux of human consciousness. The significant thing that takes place in such a narrative method is that there is the least misgiving about a novelist's self-examination in this age. His mind is receptive to whatever impression that passes above, behind, beyond or inside the handiwork of his mind. Of course one would have to admit the difficulty the novelist faces "to convey this varying, this unknown and circumscribed spirit, whatever aberration or complexity it may display." ("Modern Fiction" *op. cit.* p. 189). The difficulty of the novelist is that while he is surrounded by the dark forces of soul, non-verbalized and irrational human traits (that cannot be conveyed by the traditional plot), he has to capture this very formless abstract pattern of life-beneath—a conglomeration of subtly woven together of the moments of the urges of soul. Faced with these mysteries of life it is

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not possible to understand one man 'in one's lifetime research. In a letter to Herbert Read, Jung writes :

The great problem of our time is the fact that we don't understand what is happening in the world. We are confronted with the darkness of the soul, the Unconscious. It sends up its dark and unrecognizable urges . . . We are still in a shockingly primitive state of mind, and the main reason is that we cannot become objective in physical matters.

(Herbert Read, *The Cult of Sincerity*, p. 126)

Jung is right when he says that writers cannot become objective in physical matters. It is the subjective "I" or its equivalent in the interior monologues of the stream-of-consciousness novels that poses a serious problem for the reading public and future practitioners. No wonder, their response is poor, incredibly poor. Here is an interesting but deriding comment of Gerald Gould on *Ulysses* : "a book almost exactly like the London Telephone Directory in size and weight and only slightly less monotonous in style." (Pelham Edgar : *The Art of the Novel*, p. 301). Such criticism cannot, however, shun the many dimensional and almost encyclopaedic knowledge in *Ulysses*, which was written as a self-reflection of Joyce himself. Joyce did not write to please anybody but himself. It is a type of intellectual response of a reader, having a scholarly background, that can do justice to the style of *Ulysses*. The same is true of Virginia Woolf's experimental novels. Of course, the stream-of-consciousness novels may appeal to a limited range of public, the elite, the trained and scholastic. Perhaps it may be said that this new trend of novel writing marked a culmination of art for art's sake.

One cannot deny that difficulty or obscurity is a part of modern literature as a whole. Leon Edel, the great psychological critic, confesses his own inability to know the exact age of Miriam, when he read the first volume of *Pilgrimage*; his false calculation of the heroine's age is "produced by the pincenez, the Saratoga trunk, the 'grown-up' airs assumed by Miriam and my failure to note the earlier clues to her exact age." (*The Psychological Novel*, p. 68)

Whether one welcomes it or not, it is a fact that a new novel form had developed in the earlier two decades of the century. As Bergsonian

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duration was currently acknowledged in literary circles, the lining up of events in time broke down. Instead, things of the past and present are interlocked simultaneously, the plot complications give way to digressions. Basically, in the stream-of-consciousness novels the surface relations of the events in time are reduced to incongruity. Yet the inner structural relations are firmly established so that gradually they impose significance till a synthetic and symbolic meaning emerges. And the novelist, in his attempt to make a total structure out of the onrush of images and motifs, has to reject "whatever it be probability, or coherence, or any other of these signposts which for generations have served to support the imagination of a reader." ("Modern Fiction" *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91)

A twentieth century experimental novelist, in order to falsify the spirit of the age, a metaphysical reality, "a luminous halo," a purely mental or psychological state, has to employ a number of new fictional techniques like interior monologue, soliloquy, omniscient description, cinematic devices also known as a "montage" with its secondary devices like flash-back, fade in, fade out, multiple views etc., patterns and unities from myths and archetypes, and the classical literature, and above all symbols and rhetorical devices. With these techniques applied to the form of the novel the pattern is bound to change from ordinary prose narrative to poetic ambiguity. And that corresponds with the nature of reality—the author's subjective vision of objective reality—in a state of flux transcending time and space. Ultimately these innovations in the area of style bring about the end of plot and characterization of the traditional well-made novel. Truly speaking what is constantly found in a stream-of-consciousness novel is not description of scenes and characters but characters who are discovered, that is, rendered as they are put against a background of unending experiences, in which their spiritual self appears in moments of heightened awareness or sensibility, which may be called epiphany. These moments abound in the novels of both Joyce and Virginia Woolf.

Now it may be neither desirable nor possible to maintain that plot was bad and experiment is good. The present study is not concerned with an analysis of the uses and abuses of plot and experimentation. The fact of the matter is—and one must take it

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in all its significant ramifications—that it is purely a matter of spirit of the time that makes a literary technique adequate or inadequate, useful or obsolete. “With their simple tools and primitive materials,” says Virginia Woolf, “it might be said, Fielding did well and Jane Austen even better....” (*Ibid.*, p. 184). But these traditional tools are not suitable for the stream-of-consciousness novelists like Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, Dorothy Richardson and among others the French novelist Marcel Proust. Therefore they adopt a number of new fictional techniques to convey their own vision or essence of life, their stream of consciousness, which is a product of a mixed feeling of revolt and contemporaneity, both of which may be called *zeitgeist*. A sensitive artist while knowing the promptings of the age is faithful to the spirit of the age (and thus alone can he get going) while others are not. About the faithfulness of the artist to his age here is a thought-provoking remark by William Van O'Connor :

The contemporary reader can enjoy a *novella* or a heroic drama, but he cannot enjoy either if written by a twentieth-century short story writer or dramatist. To be true to his art a man must be true to his age. He must use the resources it presents to him.

(*Forms of Modern Fiction*, p. 2)

The novelist is a person who chooses his own proper tool to express his vision in the most effectively revealing way. Therefore the modern novelist has quite justifiably chosen to employ the stream-of-consciousness techniques as a means to represent an area of reality which some at least of the great writers who formed the great tradition were unable to do justice to. The great experimental period marks one of the glorious periods of English literature like the Elizabethan period, the Metaphysical and the Romantic periods. Indeed, these are the periods in which major reactions against conventional stereotyped styles of writing can be seen. And the great literary movement in the earlier decades of the present century was the rise of experimentalism against traditionalism in the art of fiction.

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T. S. ELIOT'S VIEWS ON POETIC LANGUAGE

A. K. Ghosh

T. S. Eliot has always been preoccupied with the problem of the correct poetic diction. To him, as also to his mentor, Ezra Pound, the questions of language were central to all human experience. Eliot's problem was to discover how the contemporary people would talk, if they could talk poetry. As part of his own search for precision and austerity in poetic art, he felt a deep sense of responsibility towards words and their usage. Like Blake, he had, to use his own phrase, "a remarkable and original sense of language and the music of language...."¹

At the turn of the century, Eliot felt very strongly the contemporary lack of interest in art and culture, and also the chaos in every field of human activity—literary as well as social. He writes in his essay "Johnson as critic and poet": "But amongst the varieties of chaos in which we find ourselves immersed today, one is a chaos of language, in which there are discoverable no standards of writing, and an increasing indifference to etymology and the history of the use of words. And of the responsibility of our poets and our critics, for the preservation of language, we need to be repeatedly reminded".²

Eliot had an acute sense of responsibility towards, extending into the subtlest literary association and to the profoundest originality of poetic language. His real significance for our century is, in the words of C. L. Wrenn, "as a maker of poetic language."³ At the outset of his career Eliot actually appears to be struggling to find language for his own poetic self, as he had already rejected outright the worn-out stale idioms of the Georgian poets and also the loose and lax Victorian poeticising abounding in capricious effusions. Eliot, therefore, directed his all-out effort, in the beginning, towards the restoration of the old position of poetry as poetry. He fought for the autonomy, dignity and integrity of poetry as a high art throughout his life. First, he concentrated on the purification of the dialect of the tribe, because the tribal language had become not only lifeless, but also atrophied and

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inarticulate. He was of the view that poetry should be written in the language of the common people. He wanted to restore to poetry the common idiom which had been lost by the poets of the late 19th century. As it was the question of the survival of poetry as an essential human activity, Eliot wanted the poet to be serious about his art. He laid emphasis on the kind and quality of words necessary for poetic purposes mainly because of the fact that he knew it well that the life of poetry springs from the interrelationship of words and phrases, images and symbols. In his essay "The Social Function of poetry", he asserts: "Indeed, if an English poet is to learn how to use words in our time, he must devote close study to these who have used them best in their time, to those, who, in their own days, have made the language new".⁴

A scholarly poet as he was, Eliot, indeed, took immense delight in the endless powers of words and their meanings. He wanted everything to be excellent in poetry and he also wanted that poetry should have a universal appeal. As early as 1917 when he had just started his career as a poetic critic, he clearly stated; "...in criticising poetry, we are right if we begin with what sensibility and what knowledge of other poetry we possess, with poetry as excellent arrangement and excellent metre".⁵ Eliot's theory of poetic diction comprehends the whole range of language. For him "the experience of a poem is the experience both of a moment and of a life-time."⁶

Eliot's view of poetic language involves the whole tradition of poetry in the English language, right from Homer to the present time. His is "the conception of poetry as a living whole of all the poetry that has ever been written".⁷ His ideal poetic diction finds expression in Little Gidding.

".....
Every phrase and every sentence is an end and a beginning
Every poem an epitaph...."

(Little Gidding, Sec. 5)

Eliot's comprehensive view of poetic language is also evidenced by his talking approvingly of Johnson's following observation: "It is a general rule of poetry that all appropriated terms of art should be sunk in general impressions, because poetry is to speak a universal language."⁸

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In search of this ideal Eliot was greatly disappointed when he found that none among the contemporary English and American poets fulfilled his own criteria of poetry written in a universal language and in a common style. In Dante and Donne he found his ideal model. His own comment in this context is highly elucidating, as he says that "the poetry of Dante is the one universal school of style for the writing of poetry in any language. There is no poet in any tongue—not even in Latin and Greek—who stands firmly as a model for all poets....that the Divine Comedy is a complete scale of the depths and heights of human emotion . . ."⁹

Eliot fought against the tendency of regarding poetry a mere pastime in loose and lax words and phrases stolen from the old classics. He rekindled the technical excitement of verse as a medium by stressing the artefact and the structure and above all the precise use of words. He took it as his main task to revive our genuine taste for poetic art by making us intensely aware of the creative and exploratory uses of the language in it. He emphasised the enjoyment of poetry primarily as poetry and re-established its position as one of the most essential human activity, although the dry materialistic and scientific outlook monopolising all kinds of human activities to material pursuits stood in his way. "With Eliot," as Norman Nicholson says in his essay "Woods and Imagery", "the modern world came into focus for the first time."¹⁰

It was Eliot—who first of all described the duty of the poet to his medium and also to his people. Defining the actual role of the poet he observes : "The task of the poet, in making people comprehend the incomprehensible, demands immense resources of language; and in developing the language, enriching the meaning of words and showing how much words can do, he is making possible as much greater range of emotion and perception for other men, because he gives them to speech in which more can be expressed."¹¹

By adopting all kinds of scientific and technical terms for the purposes of poetry, Eliot infused a new life into it. By welcoming even the common-place things of life into poetry, he made it widely inclusive and appealing and effective as well. His deep study of French Literature gave him further encouragement for writing poetry in the actual idiom of the contemporary speech of the people. He

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studied French and German classics and comparative literature as well, and he dedicated his personal talent to the revival of the great poetic tradition in language. Kathleen Raine in 1948 rightly observed, "He has inherited the English language and has bequeathed it, both purified and enriched, to his successors."¹²

By fighting the battle of colloquial idiom and educating the common taste for poetry, Eliot indeed did a great service to the cause of poetry in the modern age. The first lesson that he learns from Dante is that the great master of language should be the great servant of it. He cultivated his notion for the two fold duty of a poet as a preserver and enricher of his language from the poetry of the Divine comedy in which he found full affirmation of his own remarkable sense of responsibility to the precisely appropriate use of words together with the greatest care for their meanings. His following comment is very remarkable. "It was not simply that I was limited to Dantesque type of imagery, simile and figure of speech. It was chiefly that in this very bare and austere style, in which every word had to be 'functional', the slightest vagueness is immediately noticeable. The language has to be direct, the line and the single word, must be completely disciplined to the purpose of the whole, and, when you are using simple words and phrases, any repetition of the most common idiom or of the most frequently needed word, becomes a glaring blemish."¹³

The accurate, precise and definite expression consisting of the most lucid and appropriate words of Dante's verse captures Eliot's imagination. The another thing that strikes Eliot much is Dante's exploration of sensibility in all its depth and height.

One thing significant is that the term 'language' in his critical pronouncements always stands for the common language of the people. In his theory of poetic diction he always concentrates on the realisation of the vigorous potentialities of the common tongue. At one place he says "Emotion and feeling, then, are best expressed in the common language of the people—that is, the language common to all classes; the structure, the rhythm, the sound, the idiom of a language, express the personality of the people who speak it."¹⁴

This idea of poetry written in close affinity with the people's speech is repeatedly stressed by Eliot in different contexts of different stages

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of his career as a poet and critic. Talking of his play "The family Reunion", he says, "Here my first concern was the problem of versification, to find a rhythm close to contemporary speech, in which the stresses could be made to come whether we should naturally put them in uttering the particular phrase on the particular occasion."¹⁵

But Eliot's continued stress on the use of 'direct speech' should not lead to conclude that Eliot wanted the language of poetry to be identical with the contemporary current speech. Eliot wants the poet to be very careful in handling the common stock of words. The poet, according to him, must have a deep sense of responsibility to the particular use of words and that in this role he will have to apply his own discrimination everywhere, because no poetry, he says, "...is ever exactly the same speech that the poet talks and hears, but it has to be in such a relation to the speech of his time that the listener or reader can say 'that is how I should talk if I could talk poetry'."¹⁶

He further defines the task of the poet and says that the task of the poet "will differ, not only according to his personal constitution, but according to the period in which he finds himself. At some periods the task is to explore the musical possibilities of an established convention of the relation of the idiom of verse to that of speech; at other period the task is to catch up with the changes in colloquial speech which are fundamentally changes in thought and sensibility."¹⁷

Like all great artists Eliot was a developing artist. He tried to teach us to combine the discipline of poetry with the discipline of language which is, by its very nature, in constant progress of change. For him a living literature is always in the process of change. His ideal poetic diction is, therefore, one that is neither identical with nor too remote from modern speech. In his second essay on Milton (1946), he modifies his view and finds some historical justification for Milton's poetic diction, too. "There should be, for every period, some standard of correct poetic diction, neither identical with nor too remote from current speech".¹⁸

But in spite of this change in attitude to poetic values, Eliot's basic interest evinced in his early poetry and criticism remains operative and important down to his last works. His preference for objectivity, elegance, precision and liveness together with a sense of polish

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and austerity, in the language of poetry, remains undiluted till the end. Talking of Lancelot Andrewes Sermons, he says that in them "intellect and sensibility were in harmony, and hence arise the particular qualities of his style."¹⁹

In order to form a vital part of life, poetry has to keep pace with the changing social life. Eliot says, "In fact, our sensibility is constantly changing, as the world about us changes."²⁰

And this, according to Eliot, demands of a poet a great mastery over the language in order to find an exact verbal equivalent to the new feelings and emotions, sensibility and experiences.

Throughout his career as a poet and critic, Eliot continues his struggle for objectivity in poetic expression and also for the preservation of quality of feeling and emotion. In order to express his objective formula for poetic discourse, Eliot coins a new phrase "objective correlativity" i.e. "a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when the external facts, which much terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked".²¹

Eliot put emphasis on objective style in poetry chiefly because he wanted to correct the wrong taste of the contemporary literary community. He wanted a precisely definite, neat and clean austere style based on 'authentic speech'. He always expressed his linking for transparent and concrete poetic diction, for he believed that by such verbal expressions alone the poet can be able to create an exact verbal parallel to the object of poetic stimulus.

A hard-boiled man of the world with a puritan background as Eliot was, he always declared the 'ivory tower' lyricism in poetry, as was being practised by the late 19th century poets and the Georgians as well. He repeatedly stresses this point of precision and definiteness in the use of words because even the most vital poetic elements such as rhythm, feeling and emotion ultimately appear in the form of words. Once he wrote: "To divert interest from the poet to the poetry is a laudable aim: for it would conduce to a juster estimation of actual poetry, good or bad."²²

Kristian Smidt rightly observes that Eliot's poetic development "shows a struggle towards the conditions of drama on the one hand

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and music on the other.”²³ By poetic music Eliot conceives the total network of inter-related poetic elements producing total effect on our mind through meanings in sound, rhythm, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. In his famous lectures ‘The Music of poetry’, he says, “...I believe that the properties in which music concerns the poet most nearly, are the sense of rhythm and the sense of structure.”²⁴ He coins a new phrase ‘auditory imagination’ in order to express his view of poetic music. He expresses that a poet cannot do without some kind of musical element in his poetry, because, to quote Wordsworth, a poet is a man speaking to men; and all man have a natural appetite for music. Talking of the relation between rhythm and diction, Eliot says, “They imply each other, for the diction—the vocabulary and construction—will determine the rhythm which a poet finds congenial will determine his diction.”²⁵ So, by ‘the music of poetry’ Eliot means the total wealth of poetic beauty. It includes not only visual and the auditory aspects of poetry, but the semantic aspect of it. Eliot clearly discriminates between the ‘sound’ of words and the ‘music’ of words. He criticizes Swinburne’s verse on this account and says, “what we get in Swinburne is an expression by sound, which could not possibly associate itself with music.”²⁶ His appreciation for Pound’s verse is based on this very quality that the words chosen by him have not only the beauty of sound but also the beauty of content : ‘Pound’s verse is always definite and concrete, because he has always a definite emotion behind it’.²⁷

The most important aspect of Eliot’s theory of poetic music is that he conceives it not apart from the common speech of the people. He writes, “The music of poetry, then must be a music latent in the common speech of its time. And that means also that it must be latent in the common speech of the poet’s place”.²⁸

Eliot has, however, shown honesty and courage by revising his views on poets and poetic elements. For example, his early view regarding ‘emotion’ and ‘impersonality’ in art is modified by him when he talks of Yeats as a poet. As he becomes mature, the polemical element subsides and a more tolerant and balanced view of artistic values is expressed by him. He boldly confesses it: “I have in early essays, extolled what I called impersonality in art, and it may seem that, in giving as a reason for superiority of Yeats’ later work the greater expression of personality in it, I am contradicting myself.

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It may be that I expressed myself badly, or that I had only an adolescent grasp of that idea.. but I think now, at least, that the truth of the matter is as follows. There are two forms of impersonality; that which is natural to the more skilful craftsman, and that which is more and more achieved by the maturing artist. The first is that of what I have called the 'anthology piece', of a lyric by Lovelace or Suckling, or of Campion, a finer poet than either. The second impersonality is that of the poet who, out of intense and personal experience, is able to express a general truth; retaining all the particularity of his experience, to make of it a general symbol."²⁹

From what goes above, it becomes clear that the early radical stance such as "poetry is not a turning loose of emotion but an escape from emotion; it is not an expression of personality but an escape from personality" is completely overcome by later humility and serenity that he obviously achieves as a poet and as critic as well. Eliot's final advance is towards a state of mind in which words, after speech, reach into silence. The following lines sum up his view of poetic language and poetic development beautifully, as he says :

"Words move, music moves
Only in time; but that which is only living
Can only die. Words, after speech, reach
Into the silence. Only by the form, the pattern,
Can words or music reach
The stillness. . . ."

(Burnt Norton V)

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THE CHARISMA OF LOVE IN THE FICTION OF EUDORA WELTY AND CARSON McCULLERS

Pratibha Nagpal

The world of contemporary American fiction is concerned "with the breakdown of the old absolutes and the consequent sense of disjointedness and disconnectedness of our existence"¹ and is a cosmos bereft of incandescence of human emotions and effusiveness of love. The scenario in this fiction does not provide any opportunity to those inhabiting it to forge any human relationships. Peace and prosperity, norms and values, uncomplex socio-economic conditions of life are hard to attain and harder still is to hold on to whatever is left of these ideals. The nostalgic past is slowly but surely giving way to a new world of vulgarity, despair and aloneness. The people are eternal crusaders in quest of traditions and unifying principles that bind them to those around them. They seek consciousness about themselves in terms of those around them and find themselves marooned on islands of loneliness and lovelessness because consciousness which forms the foundation of human reality is "also the source of pain and fear, the creator of dreams which cannot be realized, the sense of separateness and aloneness".² Thus, the emphasis is to clutch what one can lay hands on with no regard to emotions and values of any kind. As a result, the people are victims of loneliness and are unable to attain love.

The fiction of Eudora Welty and Carson McCullers is also full of characters groping in the dark to find an answer to the unsurmountable problems that face them. They sometimes appear dehumanized impersonal people whose spiritual decadence has led them deeper into isolation, self division and terror. Their maimed psyche is forever involved in the struggle for self-identification. Both Welty and McCullers affirm that the most important component of a person's life constitutes in finding an answer to questions regarding self and unless he can find the answer through those who accept him, he will be vulnerable to fear and loneliness. He will then try to find the answers in terms of what he is

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not, abhorring everything that is defined as unlike him. The only way out of this dilemma is through love and language of communication. In order to re-establish harmony one has to create ties of love that alone can remove the inevitable solitude of each heart. The characters in the fiction of Welty and McCullers are engaged in an endless battle to rid themselves of forlornness and their incessant pursuit to shake off their fears and communicate is repeated again and again like chanting of prayer bells. Their characters seek a way out of their impregnable loneliness in order to establish meaningful relationships in the form of parental, familial, social or marital love. They are the people who "do not really desire a wide understanding, that one confidant is all they can afford their spirits. The real dilemma is that even the telling to one person does not destroy the loneliness, the sense of isolation. Each man is doomed to be an island unto himself in the midst of a swarming continent of outside pressures, demands and responsibilities".³

Welty and McCullers have dealt primarily with isolation and suggested similar way out of it in the form of love and communication but their treatment of love is dissimilar. Varying from one extreme to another, oscillating from positive to negative, hope to despair, glorification to condemnation, and exaltation to self denial, love in their fiction becomes an electrifying force—luminous but deadly. Like Carson McCullers, "Eudora Welty is also on familiar terms with gothic abnormality, although not as deeply possessed by it. She uses her characters—her deaf mutes or mad, decadent aristocrats—out of the same preoccupation with the themes of isolation, love and separateness, communication. Like McCullers, she constantly probes the problem of identity or of separateness which leads to isolation, while at the same time she forces upon her characters a recognition of the demands of love which can be fulfilled only through communication".⁴ Love for Welty is life-force—an anchor for her characters to gather strength and courage, seek self affirmation and feel rejuvenated. Love is not only the basic need of her characters, it is also a ray of hope for salvation. Love provides emotional and psychological security to her people in their search for answers regarding self. In battles with an hostile environment out to thwart one's personal interests, love forms the platform where one can stand secure to overcome obstacles. It becomes in the fiction of Welty a force of affirmation in a realm of negation. Love forms the root of every individual's personality and is a vital mode of communication for

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Welty's characters. It joins the torn and strifing fragments of life to give it a new meaning, confidence and force. Eudora Welty has studied love in all its aspects that are essential in one way or the other to make a person complete. She has rejoiced in parental love where mother's love is a bliss that cannot be acquired or controlled and which forms all beauty of life. Her orphans cling to mother substitutes only to realize that there can never be a mother substitute. Welty has understood and emphasized the importance of parental love in her fiction depicting lucidly the damage its absence may cause. The variability, mystery and complexity of parent-child relationship has been idolized by Welty. Both the parent and the child owe a great deal to one another yet each is free within himself. It is by fulfilling one's duty, by tying one's self in bonds of love that satiation of love can be attained. Without gagging or suffocating each other, without infringing on another's privacy, love makes it possible for the people to open out, to expand and acquire the courage to face the hostile world. The family in her novels is not the modern isolated family. Her family units are indispensable for it is from here characters seek security and strength. Isolation is inherent in every soul and communication is made possible through familial love though it may mean curtailing individual freedom that often leads to conflicts in family relationships. The rich intricate pattern of familial love with its multidimensional aspects is best found in *Delta Wedding* and *The Ponder Heart*.

Another way of a securing gratifying relationship through love is marriage. It is the deepest and closest relationship that exists between man and woman providing tremendous social, emotional and psychological security to them. Welty has studied this association in its various nuances, in depth than breadth and with an avid insight into human heart creating memorable women characters. The intensity and complete subjectivity of a woman's love, the unreserved total surrender of a woman in love is strikingly well presented by Welty. The destruction and unhappiness that is the result of a woman seeking similar total surrender from her mate is also emphasized by Welty. According to her, to assume that marriage is a perfect and happy union of two minds is a fallacy because of certain innate differences between man and woman. Even in the most impeccable relationships, there remains and must remain, the thin veil of privacy to which each may retreat to

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strive for strength and faith in the relationship. Even after years of alliance a partner must be prepared to accept an inexplicable act from the other. This 'otherness of the other' that many a writers have often exalted is stressed by Welty too. If this is not done and a partner tries to force his will on the other, it will lead to bitterness even the most perfect relationships. Love in a marriage, according to Welty, means to understand and respect the inviolable mysterious and absolute identity of the partner. If this is not done then the result is in proscription, destruction or self abuse. With a complete understanding of the complexity of a woman's mind, Welty has created memorable woman characters. Her male characters representing independence and elusiveness are the unrestrained vital force of life that cannot be tamed by traditions, customs, norms or even woman's love. This has led to many situations of conflict between man and woman but ultimately the bonds of love prove stronger than any other force and there lies Welty's strength as a writer of affirmation. The traditional code of morality does not determine Welty's attitude towards sex, an essential element of a man-woman love relationship. But she does not discard codes of morality to present sex as a base dehumanized animal instinct as McCullers does. The bland tone without any moral undertones does not lay any stress on infidelity in marriage which is generally male-infidelity.

McCullers' world, on the other hand, is a world "cut off from society, from morality, from religion, from ideas, from concern with man's burden or with man's hope"⁵, devoid of human feelings, relationships and communication. It is a cosmos where reciprocity is thwarted at its inception by circumstances and situations beyond the control of her characters. The link that will join the seekers of love is missing—there is only gloom, despair and stark loneliness for them. Every ray of hope is denied to her characters and they are provided with nothing they can cling to and move forward. For them there is only regression, never any awareness of the self or the world around them. McCullers realizes the basic need of love in every person's life but very methodically she rejects every channel that might lead to love and dialogue of love. The longing for reciprocal love is ingrained in every character but the pattern of love is the same. The longing for a spiritual union with the beloved is bound to prove futile for the beloved never will or never can respond. There is a total lack of reciprocity in her characters leading to frustration and ultimate destruction or

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reversion to an even intenser loneliness. Hence, there is abundance of human and emotional abuse, perversity, violence and grotesquery in McCullers' fiction. Love, according to McCullers, does not help an individual understand himself or the world around him, does not lead to the understanding of the 'otherness of the other' but like a python engulfs and enmeshes the individual caught in its hold. Love therefore becomes a force of destruction leading only to an heightened sense of loneliness, frustration and even terror. Though McCullers exalts platonic love and condemns sensual love to doom, she has not created any character capable of such love. If Berenice in *The Member of the Wedding* or Portia Copeland in *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* have experienced brief spells of fulfilling love, they still remain lonely characters for their love was short lived due to circumstances beyond their control or comprehension. The paradox of love where two individuals remain separate yet become one is denied to her characters by McCullers.

Welty, on the other hand, has seen love from all angles and her characters perform with ease the various roles of life as sons, lovers, spouses and parents. Her characters live on a plane of reality where as McCullers' characters remain lonely rovers in desert of life seeking an oasis that, if they reach it, is invariably a reflection of their own torment and agony. The familial love, so conspicuous in Welty's fiction, is either missing or present in fragments in McCullers' works. Her characters are involved in the daily life-giving routines but one cannot hear the shouts, quarrels and the tensional signals so characteristic of Welty's fiction. Mick Kelly, living with her family, tries in futility to establish communication with a deaf-mute but does not seek solace from those in closest proximity to her—her family (*The Heart is a Lonely Hunter*). Frankie Adams in *The Member of the Wedding* is denied a family which could provide her the secure anchor from where to enter a new world of adulthood.

While Welty has sought to attain love through marital bonds McCullers rejects this institution too in favour of a society without any social values where chaos reigns supreme. If female promiscuity is frowned upon by Welty, McCullers creates characters who flaunt all norms of decency and sanctity provided by the institution of marriage and indulge freely in extra-marital relationships purely at a physical

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animal level. Even characters who do not reject this tradition spent years without attaining any physical or emotional intimacy with one another. In one deft stroke McCullers reduces marriage to a mere farce full of distrust, disgust and hatred. Pity in a marriage can be as destructive as infidelity or dominance. Sex in McCullers' hands becomes as instrument of perversity and does not remain a natural instinct. There is an abundance of sexual degradation in her characters and the general attitude towards sex is that of repulsion rather than acceptance. There is no gratifying man-woman, parent-child relationship in her fiction in terms of love or communication. The absence of any such correlation makes McCullers' fiction a portrayal of a tragic dismal world. It is as if she is convinced of the failure of dialogue and of the possibility of a fructifying relationship. McCullers has indeed circumscribed her vision of love by creating people who do have the need to love but cannot. In her negative viewing of love, her characters are reduced to mere emotional failures and are sentenced to a life times solitary imprisonment from where there is no escape.

Love, according to Welty and McCullers, is the only anodyne available to loneliness but "McCullers, hypnotized as she seems to be by the burning point where love and pain secretly meet, foregoes a certain richness of surface which, let us say, Eudora Welty seldom misses".⁶ Welty exalts love in its totality. She depicts not only the anguish of loneliness but the glory of love too. The pain of isolation and the pleasure of love coexist in every situation and life is their affirmation. McCullers on the contrary overburdens her characters with the weight of loneliness, projecting a glimmer of hope through love but making its attainment impossible. She sings the ever unsung song of lonely hearts to characters who can neither hear it or sing back.

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THE DECAMERON : ITS FAR-REACHING INFLUENCE ON THE JACOBAN PLAYWRIGHTS

Jibesh Bhattacharyya

Drama in England in the sixteenth century flourished under the formative influence of the Italian Renaissance, although a native tradition was not altogether absent. Renaissance is said to have started in Italy, because of the rediscovery and imitation in that country of the artistic and cultural monuments of the ancient classical civilization. In fact, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 there was an influx of Greek scholars into Italy and Italy itself in the latter half of the fifteenth century became a still greater cultural centre.

The English writers of the sixteenth century were mainly dependent on foreign literature and hence they turned to the translations of foreign works. And this accounts, to a great extent, for the great literary wealth we find in Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Bacon and even Milton. Many translations of the foreign works made by the Elizabethans were accepted in England as if they were original works by native writers.

The Renaissance began in Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century and by 1400 Italy had produced the most famous three names in its literature—Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. These writers were widely translated in England. Of these translations, the one by William Painter (1540-1594) brought into English materials indispensable to English drama. Painter translated the Italian short stories or *novelle* under the title *The Palace of Pleasure*. This book was published in two volumes, the first of which appeared in 1566 and the second the following year. It contains translations not only from ancient writers like Livy (59 B.C.—A.D. 17), Herodotus (c. 480—c. 425 B.C.), Aulus Gellius (second century A.D.), but also from later writers like Plutarch (1304-1374), Boccaccio (1313-1375), Bandello (c. 1480-1562), Cinthio (1504-1573) and Margaret of Navarre (1492-1549).

It has been said that Painter's range was so wide that practically every Renaissance tale or drama has its plot counterpart in *The Palace of Pleasure*. Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well*, and most probably his accounts of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, and *The Rape of Lucrece* derive their source from Painter's book. Fletcher, Thomas Heywood, Marston, Massinger, Shirley and Webster appear to have utilized this book for the plots of a number of their plays.

The purpose of this paper, however, is not to examine the extent of the impact of the Italian stories or of Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* on the writers of the Renaissance England. The scope of this paper is far too narrow to make such an extensive survey. It takes up for critical examination the far-reaching influence on the English dramatists of the early seventeenth century of a particular tale of Boccaccio narrated in his book, *The Decameron*.

Boccaccio's *The Decameron* composed between 1348 and 1358, was translated into French by Antoine le Maçon in 1545. John Florio, an Italian living in England, produced an English translation of the book in 1620, supposed to be the first apparently complete translation of the work based on Le Maçon's French translation and the famous Italian edition of Salviati, first published in 1582.¹ The tenth story of the tenth day, that is, the last story of *The Decameron*, impressed many a writer of the Renaissance England. It is the story of Griselda, a mute sufferer of unjustified ill-treatment. The sadistic pleasure one gets in torturing innocent women and the silent forbearance of these women in the face of such unjustly cruel treatment fascinated many a dramatist, particularly in the early seventeenth century, which is known as the Jacobean age.

Historically, the Jacobean age covers the period from 24 March 1603 to 27 March 1625, during which James I actually reigned over England. But as a literary period does not always correspond to the historical period, some liberty has been taken in including authors who do not strictly come within this historical period. A few dramatists of the Jacobean age have been chosen to point out how the Griselda myth cast a powerful influence on the dramatists of the early seventeenth century from Shakespeare to John Ford. The image of the sorrowful, pining woman mutely enduring the

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cruel treatment meted out to her has become a type in many a drama of this period.

In order to have a better appreciation of the Griselda myth a short account of the hundredth story of *The Decameron* is now being given. This last tale was narrated by a young man named Dioneo. He started by saying, 'I want to tell you of a marquis whose actions, even though things turned out well for him in the end, were remarkable not so much for their munificence as for their senseless brutality.'² This marquis was Gualtieri who, being hard pressed by his friends, decided at last to marry on condition that whichever girl he would choose for his wife must be honoured properly as the marchioness by his friends. Gualtieri loved the beautiful daughter of a poor shepherd who lived in a neighbouring village. Her name was Griselda. Gualtieri married her in the presence of his friends after exacting promises from her that she would obey him and would never be upset by anything he said or did. Griselda, though the daughter of a poor man, soon adapted herself to the dignity of the house of the marquis, her husband. As days passed by, she bore her husband first a daughter and then a son. Now, seized with a strange desire to test the patience of Griselda, Gualtieri took away from her the children one by one through a messenger, pretending to kill them, and finally drove her away from his house expressing his desire to marry for the second time. Griselda obeyed her husband without protest and went away to her father's house. But she was again called by Gualtieri to look after his household when he would return home with his new bride. She at once obeyed her husband and came back. Soon it was found that the new bride was actually the daughter of Griselda and Gualtieri, and the young man accompanying the bride was their lost son. In fact, Gualtieri kept his children at the house of a kinswoman of his at Bologna where they were brought up, unknown to Griselda who thought that they had been killed by her cruel husband. Gualtieri explained everything to all present and restored Griselda to her former glory as his dear wife and marchioness.

This Griselda-type of woman seemed to have appeared first in a play by Dekker. This play was obviously based on the Griselda myth as the very title of the play *Patient Grissil* (1603) signifies. The play has

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probably been presented by Philip Henslowe at the Rose Theatre some-time between 16 October and 29 December 1599, when Henslowe paid ten guineas for this play to Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton.³ In this play, as in Boccaccio's tale, we find Grissil as the daughter of Janicola, a poor basket-maker, whom the marquess of Salucia marries being smitten with her beauty. Wishing to try her patience, the marquess subjects her to a series of humiliations and cruelties, robbing her of her children and making her believe them to be dead, and finally pretending to take another wife and making her attend upon the new bride. All these trials she bears submissively, for, ' 'Tis no vexation, for what pleaseth him,/ Is the contentment of his hand-maides heart' (V. i. 66-67). The supposedly new bride is revealed to be Grissil's daughter, and Grissil is restored to honour. Dekker's play seems to be the first dramatic version of Boccaccio's story. Of course, an English version of the story had already been created by Chaucer in his *Clerk's Tale* which was included in his *Canterbury Tales* (1387). Dekker was assisted by Chettle and Haughton in writing this play. But it is rather difficult to discern the share each had in the composition of this play.

The attraction of this Griselda-woman was so strong that Shakespeare, too, introduced such a character in a number of his plays. Thus, in *All's Well That Ends Well* (written 1602-3) which belongs very much to the Jacobean period, the character of Helena who marries Bertram, the young count of Rousillon, is of the Griselda type. She is unjustly subjected to gross ill-treatment by her husband who left her and informed her the until she could get the ring from his finger 'which never shall come off' (III. ii. 60) and was with child by him she should not call him husband. Helena is the most obedient and loyal wife. In the face of utter neglect and rude behaviour of her husband she says, 'Sir, I can nothing say, /But that I am your most obedient servant.' (II. v. 76-77). She later happens to meet her husband at Florence courting Diana; the daughter of her hostess there. By some trickery at a midnight interview with Bertram she replaces Diana secretly (in the manner of Mariana replacing Isabella in *Measure for Measure*) and fulfils the condition laid down by Bertram and by the intervention of the King of France; is united with her husband. Shakespeare has used the ninth tale of the third day in Boccaccio's *The Decameron*, included in Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure*, for this play. But he has not exactly followed this tale of Boccaccio.

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He has presented Helena before us as the sad picture of a wronged wife ill-treated by her husband, and for this picture he seems to have turned to the Griselda story of *The Decameron*, an English translation of which was already in circulation, 'For one of the curious facts about English versions of the *Decameron* is the number of mute, inglorious Miltons to be found in the ranks of its translators.'⁴ But Helena appears to be more active and intelligent than Griselda. She does not suffer merely and submit to her lot, but tries her best to come out of her sufferings. G. K. Hunter also has not failed to notice the Griselda-like quality of Helena as he observes, 'Helena is a "clever wench" only in the sense in which Griselda is—clever enough to be virtuous, pious, and patient till Destiny and Justice work things out for her.'⁵

Hermione, in *The Winter's Tale* (written 1610-11), is however, more Griselda-like. Although it is generally held that *The Winter's Tale* is based on Greene's prose romance of *Pandosto* (1588), Shakespeare has diverged in several points from his principal source. And we shall not be surprised if the image of Griselda left a far greater impression on the mind of Shakespeare than Greene's Bellario in shaping the character of Hermione. Hermione is a devoted wife. It is only at the behest of the king, her husband, that she entreats Polixenes to stay a few days more with them. So, when the king begins to suspect her of having an illicit relationship with Polixenes, she is surprised. At first she tries to defend herself, but soon she is reconciled to her lot like Griselda and says, 'I must be patient till the heavens look/With an aspect more favourable The king's will be perform'd' (II.i. 106-115).

In the character of Imogen in *Cymbeline* (written 1609-10) also, we find the image of the innocent wife unjustly persecuted by her husband. This play has, for its source, the ninth tale of the second day in *The Decameron*. Yet the innocent wife suffering for no fault of hers and finally restored to her position of honour will surely remind one of Griselda whose sad story has been narrated in the same book from which the plot of *Cymbeline* has been collected by the dramatist. When Pisanio informs Imogen how Posthumus has asked him to kill her, she is ready to lay down her life at her husband's bidding and tells Pisanio, 'Come, fellow, be thou honest :/Do thou thy master's bidding : When thou see'st him./A little witness my obedience :' (III. iv. 66-68), although Pisanio is unwilling to do the vile deed. When Imogen tells Pisanio, 'do his bidding; strike'

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(III. iv. 73), Pisanio exclaims, 'Hence, vile instrument !/Thou shalt not damn my hand' (III. iv. 75-76).

The White Devil and *The Duchess of Malfi*, which 'together represent the peak of Webster's achievement as a poet and dramatist'⁶, contain characters which are of the Griselda type. Isabella in *The White Devil* (1608) is such a character. Her husband Brachiano begins to behave rudely with her after he had been enamoured of Vittoria Corombona, the wife of Camillo. To all the harsh words hurled at her by her husband, Isabella replies with mild submission. Brachiano has decided to part with Isabella and says, 'Henceforth I'll never lie with thee, by this,/this wedding ring : I'll ne'er more lie with thee./ And this divorce shall be as truly kept,/As if the judge had doom'd it : ' (II.i. 194-197). Isabella does not protest but calmly accepts this separation and, lest her husband be blamed by the people for deserting his wife, she says that she will give out that she is 'the author of [his] cursed vow' (II.i.217) and adds 'let the fault'/Remain with my supposed jealousy.' (II.i. 221-222).

Giovanna, the duchess of Malfi, reminds us more of Griselda than Isabella of *The White Devil* as the manner in which she has been ill-treated by her brothers is almost like that in which Griselda is treated by her husband. The Duchess has been kept confined to her own palace and subjected to fearful mental tortures. But she endures all the sufferings with patience. When Bosola comes to imprison her, she tells him, 'I am arm'd 'gainst misery ;/Bent to all sways of the oppressor's will' (III.v. 141-142). She accepts her death with calm resignation to her fate when the executioners come with Bosola to strangle her. She then tells Bosola, 'Tell my brothers/That I perceive death, now I am well awake;/Best gift is, they can give, or I can take' (IV.ii. 223-225).

Penthea of John Ford's *The Broken Heart* (1633) is another ill-fated woman who has been forced by her brother Ithocles to marry the jealous and contemptible Bassanes who makes her life so miserable by his jealousy and suspicion that she goes mad and finally dies. But like a truly devoted wife she had never complained. She told Bassanes :

Sir, may every evil
Locked in Pandora's box shower, in you presence,
On my unhappy head, if, since you made me
A partner in your bed, I have been faulty
In one unseemly thought against your honour !

(III. ii)

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The Queen; or, The Excellency of Her Sex (First published posthumously in 1633) of Ford proves that even after many years the influence of the Gaiselda myth had not waned. The Queen of Arragon, the central character of the play, falls in love with Alphonso, a misogynist, marries him and suffers the utter neglect and humiliation at his hand. But she, like the true Griselda type of woman, submits to all the ill-treatments of her husband as 'the king should be obeyed' (Act I) and as 'A wife must bear/Withal what likes her Lord t'upbraid her with' (Act II).

A perusal of the plays composed in Eng'land during the early seventeenth century will reveal to any discerning reader how depraved was the taste of the people who witnessed such plays. For, drama was a means of popular entertainment. So, the dramatists had to purvey what the people wanted. Hence, instead of pure romantic love as in the earlier plays we find incest, adultery and illicit passion in the plays of the period. And to satisfy the desire of the spectators for thrill and sensation, various kinds of tortures and horrible scenes were introduced into the plays. A moral debility crept upon the English society after the death of Elizabeth in 1603. The courtiers who formed the bulk of the Jacobean audience were politically corrupt, morally depraved and spiritually bankrupt. Women were mere playthings to them. Perhaps they received a sort of sadistic pleasure in ill-treating and torturing innocent women, particularly their wives. That was why they liked to see on the stage scenes of persecutions of women. To satisfy this very understandable desire on the part of the audience, the dramatists of the Jacobean age turned to the very popular book of tales of the time, *The Decameron* by Boccaccio, which provided them with enough material of this type and the last tale of the book where an innocent wife was unjustly persecuted by her husband naturally attracted their attention. The result was the production of a number of plays in which many a Griselda had to suffer terribly for no fault of theirs but for the sole purpose of providing sadistic pleasures to depraved onlookers of the Jacobean age.

NOTES

1. Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, translated with an introduction by G. H. McWilliam (1972; rpt. England, Penguin Books, 1973), p. 34.

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 813.
3. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, edited by Fredson Bowers (Cambridge at the University Press, 1953), Vol. I, p. 9.
4. Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, p. 26.
5. *All's Well That Ends Well*, Arden Shakespeare, edited by G. K. Hunter (Third ed. 1959; rpt. London : Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 13.
6. *John Webster : Three Plays*, with introduction and notes by D. C. Gunby (1972; rpt. England, Penguin Books Ltd., 1982), p. 13.

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LANGUAGE LOYALTY AND MAINTANENCE (A Case of Chinals of Lahaul)

D. D. Sharma

The linguistic phenomenon termed as 'Convergence', a bi-product of a long and close contact between two or more linguistic groups of the same or different families, is well known and has been extensively worked out by linguists the world over, but very little information has come to light on the phenomenon of linguistic 'maintenance' which pertains to similar linguistic situations in which the phenomenon of convergence takes place, but on account of certain para-linguistic reasons, certain linguistic communities/groups exhibit a strong resistance to any change in spite of a close and constant contact. In this paper I have attempted to focus the attention of scholars to an interesting situation, attestable in the secluded area of a valley in Lahaul, inhabited by the Indo-Aryan speaking Aryan Chinals and the Tibeto-Burman speaking Mongoloid Bodhis and Aryan Swanglas.

The Pattan valley in Lahaul, a sub-division of the state of Himachal Pradesh, presents a very interesting case of linguistic convergence and maintenance simultaneously, under similar socio-cultural and geographical conditions. Here for the data of this paper I have selected a village, named Shansha, situated on the right bank of the Chandra-Bhaga river in the Pattan Valley of Lahaul. The population of the village consists of Aryan Hindus and Mongoloid Budhists. The constituents of the Aryan group are the Brahman Swanglas, the scheduled caste Chinals and the Lohars. Among these, the Lohars who claim to have come from Bada Banghal in Kullu and who form the microscopic minority, are the latest migrants to this secluded region, but when did the Aryan Swanglas and Chinals, and the Mongoloid Bhotis immigrated to this region is any body's guess. It may be presumed roughly on the basis of linguistic evidences, that the first occupants of this region were a people who belonged to Austro-Asiatic race. These seem to have been followed by the

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Mongoloids from the north in the 1st millenium B.C. and were later on followed by the Aryan Swanglas and the Chinals together from somewhere in Kashmir or a nearby area, sometimes in the 1st millenium A.D.

Topographically, the whole of Lahaul sub-division, including the Pattan valley, is situated in the lap of snow-clad mountains of the Central Himalayas, standing 15-20 thousand feet above the sea level beyond the 13,500' Rohtang pass, on the banks of the rivers the Chandra and the Bhaga at the elevation of 10-12 thousand feet above the sea level. The Pattan Valley lies on the right bank of the Chandra-Bhaga which after entering into the territory of Jammu and Kashmir assumes the name as Chinab. The whole region, on account of heavy snowfall, 10 to 15' feet, and the consequent closure of all the passes leading to Lahaul, remains cut off from the rest of the world for the greater part of the year. The heavy snow-fall which completely envelopes every thing there in its thick blanket also brings down the mercury upto 10—20° below the freezing point. The outside movement even within the valley and many a time within the village becomes impossible, virtually, bringing all outside activies to a standstill.

Before taking up the issue of linguistic maintenance it will not be inappropriate to say something of the socio-ethnic aspects of these people. As pointed out above, the linguistic features of Manchadi (Pattani) attest beyond doubt that in prehistoric days this region, before its occupation by the Mongoloids, even before their conversion to Buddhism, was occupied by the people of a different race who spoke a language of Austro-asiatic family, presently represented by the languages termed as Munda/Mundari (For details see, author's paper on '*Contact and Convergence*' contributed to a National Seminar on the subject held in the Osmania University, Hyderabad, in Feb. 1987).

About the present occupants of this valley, though nothing can be said in categorical terms, yet from the unique phenomena of linguistic convergence and maintenance that have taken place there, one may presume that out of the two ethnic groups inhabiting the valley, the Mongoloid Bodhis preceded the Aryan Swanglas and Chinals whose ancestors, according to a folk-lorish account, migrated to this snow-bound, secluded region together as two Brahman brothers. Later, the younger brother, on account of taking flesh as a food

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from a Mongoloid was declared as an outcaste (*Chandala*) by his elder brother.

As such, it needs little imagination that at the initial stage of their settlement in this valley when this Aryan community came into contact with the Tibeto-Burman speaking Mongoloid Bodhis, both the groups (the Swanglas and the Chinals) spoke the same variety of old Indo-Aryan. It was later that the high caste Swanglas gradually switched over to the language of the Bodhis, culminating into a complete convergence, but the low-caste Chinals continued to speak the same variety of I.A., allowing its natural growth independent of the Aryan languages developing elsewhere on this side of the Rohtang pass, without disturbing its original character.

An important socio-ethnical distinction between the Mongoloid Bodhis and the Aryan Swangla- Chinal group is this that among the former people there is no caste hierarchy operative among themselves as we find it among Aryans. Consequent to this age old social legacy, the Swanglas stand at the highest rung of the social ladder and the Chinals at the lowest. As such, the Swanglas who claim to be Brahmans maintain their separate social entity and do not enter into matrimonial relations or share meals either with the Bodhis or the Chinals. On the other hand, the Chinals who form a very small social group and are confined to a few villages only are treated as untouchables by both the high caste Swanglas and the Bodhis. Economically backward, they are landless labourers earning their livelihood by rendering various kinds of services to the Swanglas and the Bodhis in their homes, fields and on various social occasions and at the time of agricultural operations for which they get their remunerations from them in terms of kinds. The scheduled caste Lohars who on the social ladder are treated lower to Chinals belong to artisan class and have only a few families in the whole valley.

With this socio-ethnic background we may also have some idea about the existing linguistic situation in the valley. Briefly, it may be put as under :

(a) The Mongoloid Bodhis speak a language which is a curious amalgum of Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan and Munda resulting from contact between different linguistic groups in the past 2000 or more

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years. Genetically it is nearer to Tibeto-Burman, but typologically nearer to Munda, with borrowings from I.A.

(b) The Aryan Swanglas speak the same variety of Manchadi which is spoken by Bodhis, with socio-linguistic variations here and there.

(c) The Chinals speak their own variety of Indo-Aryan in their domestic and in-group communications and Manchadi while communicating with their *ghyats* (lords), viz. the Swanglas and the Bodhis. As such they are perfectly bi-linguals operating both the codes with the same competence. Some of their men folk are even tri-linguals, having an easy access to Hindi/Hindustani as well.

(d) The Lohars speak a western Pahari variety of I.A. which is mutually intelligible to the Chinals, i.e. lexically nearer to Chinali, but structurally different from it.

In the given linguistic milieu, though it may sound strange, yet it is a fact that the Chinals who otherwise occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder have stuck to their mother tongue and have zealously preserved it for nearly more than one thousand years in most adverse circumstances, though their better off brethren, the Swanglas who had a perfectly secured social position and ethnically and socio-religiously have a closer affinity with them have completely switched over to an alien tongue, viz. Manchadi, the mother tongue of the Bodhis.

In this situation one may naturally ask what led the high caste Swanglas to submit to the influence of the mother-tongue of the Bodhis, while discarding their own mother tongue and what prevented the low caste Chinals from succumbing to the linguistic pressure of their elder brethren the Swanglas and their masters, the Bodhis, particularly when the language of these superior groups carried a social prestige and also was the *lingua franca* of the whole region. In this context one thing that I would like to specifically mention here is that no effort has been made to theorise any point under consideration. It is a pure enquiry into the problem and explanations from any quarter will be appreciated.

The question of complete convergence between the ancient language of the Swanglas and of the Bodhi has been discussed at length in a separate paper dealing with 'Contact and Convergence' (referred to

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above). Here we shall take up the case of 'linguistic maintenance' as attested in connection with Chinali, an I. A. dialect spoken by the Aryan Chinalas and the Manchadi, spoken by Mongoloid Bodhis of the same village, viz. Shansha. Here the situations of contact between Chinali and Manchadi were the same as for the ancient dialect of the Swanglas and of the Bodhis, viz. Manchadi, which on account of close and constant contact have completely fused together, but the same could not take place between the former set of languages. Why identical socio-linguistic conditions failed to produce identical results in this case is a matter of great enquiry. To be more specific, one may ask why did the Brahman Swanglas with a better socio-economic position sacrifice their mother tongue to an alien tongue and why the Chinalas despite adverse socio-economic positions stuck to their mother tongue so passionately? What was the motivation which prompted them to resist all socio-linguistic pressures? After all, nothing is possible against the law of cause and effect. There must be lurking something in the psyche of these low-caste, down-trodden Chinalas which sustained all pressures, even in most adverse circumstance for more than a millenium years in a completely cut-off region.

The linguists, who have been investigating into the linguistic phenomena termed as 'Convergence' and 'maintenance', have enumerated some of the factors which are responsible for affecting these features of languages in contact, as under :

Intensity and length of contact, genetic and typological affinities, relative size of the linguistic groups in question, need of communication and bi-lingualism, relative prestige of the languages involved, status of their speakers on the scale of social hierarchy, areas of contact and nature of interaction, relative isolation, attitude of speakers towards the other language.

Another notable point in this regard is that on the one hand, the peaceful coexistence of the Chinalas and the Bodhis/or Swanglas, in a secluded area for ages failed to exercise any perceptible influence on the language of the Chinalas in spite of their having full linguistic and communicative control over the language of Bodhis, the language of prestige and of the majority. On the other hand, the speakers of Manchadi who form the linguistic majority in the area do not have even a working knowledge of Chinali. Though they may be having

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some understanding of it on account of their age-long association. Contrary to this, we also find that both the linguistic communities, minor as well as major, at least their men folk, understand and speak Hindi/Hindustani, the language of the people living on the other side of the impregnable Rohtang pass, because of their age-long contacts and communicative necessity with them for the purposes of trade and commerce. The analysis of this situation as attested in the village Shansha, or for that purpose in the whole Patten Valley, makes it obvious that it is not only a long and sustained contact alone that induces linguistic convergence or creates conditions for the development of bi-lingualism among different linguistic communities living together, but also the socio-political or socio-economic interest of the linguistic community favouring or disfavouring this type of linguistic integration. A parallel instance can be put forward from a recent phenomenon that has taken place in the plains of this sub-continent. We see that after the partition of the country in 1947 all the Sindhi and Panjabi speakers who migrated to this side of the border have acquired an admirable proficiency in the Hindi language as well, but not vice-versa.

From this corollary of situation it may be presumed that in a linguistic milieu, as described above, if one of the languages belongs to a minority group, and the other to a majority group also having a superior socio-economic position, then the phenomenon of bi-lingualism becomes effective with the speakers of the minority language only. Besides, the areas of contact and nature of social interaction too have an effective role to play in linguistic convergence or maintenance. As stated above, socio-economically, the Chinals occupy the lowest position in the total social set up in the valley. Their numerical strength, too, is very small, there being hardly 50 families in the whole valley. So on account of their low social status and segregated inhabitation they have very limited opportunities for close social interaction with the high caste or high social status people living over there. As such, the social conditions that compelled them to live in isolation also may have prohibited them from coming into closer contact with their *ghyats* (lords). It was out of a pragmatic need or sheer economic necessity that they had to learn the language of their *ghyats*, whereas the Swanglas or the Bodhis did not have such a necessity. Moreover, the social prestige of the Swanglas and the Bodhis also may have prevented them from learning or using the language of Chinals which carried a stigma of the low-caste speech.

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For in a highly stratified social set-up association of linguistic forms with different social segments creates linguistic barriers for their use by other segments of the society, particularly by socially higher strata of it. In this case it is also just possible that in the beginning the high caste people themselves may have objected to the use of their linguistic codes by them, consequently, forcing them to continue to use their own mother tongue. In this context in view of Chinals being bilinguals and having perfect competence over the code of Manchadi, Southworth's observation that 'in many areas lower caste speakers were discouraged from imitating the speech of members of the higher castes, just as they were discouraged from imitating high modes of caste dress and other behaviour' (1972 : 19, quoted by Bean, 1974 : 288), may appear somewhat invalid, yet in this social context it has its full relevance.

Moreover, in this case another possible reason for maintaining their separate linguistic entity, unadulterated for centuries together in an isolated environment, seems to be the social consciousness of "ethnic separateness of home life" as Gumperz and Wilson (1971 : 153) have termed it, keeping sharp difference between interaction within the home or in-group communications and outside of it. It is, however, amazing that this distinction, consciously or un-consciously, is being fully maintained even by quite illiterate women folk and children, all operating with a different code at homes and in-group communications and a different code while communicating with members of outer groups during the course of social interaction with them. As such, they manage to control both the codes successfully for generations together.

However, the reason for non-diffusion of linguistic traits of Manchadi, the language of superior class people and also the language of prestige is the genetic difference between the two. It is on account of this difference, as well as the sense of ethnic separateness, which has helped in keeping Chinali unaffected, except for the few lexical borrowings which are but natural in such a long, sustained and secluded close association. Moreover, the present linguistic situation as attested in Chinals, with the socio-linguistic background, as described above, confirms the view that 'as long as ethnic separateness of home life is valued, and remains associated with ethnic separateness, there is little reason to expect multi-lingualism to disappear' (Gumperz and Wilson, 1971 : 153-54, quoted by Southworth & Apte, 1974 : 9).

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In this case, it is also likely that the enforced isolation because of the stigma of pollution associated with these people also may have obliged them to maintain their linguistic separateness along with the social separateness which prohibited them from having close social interaction with the members of socially higher groups, Aryans or Bodhis. Moreover, under those social circumstances in which they were placed by the other caste people, they were hardly to gain anything by abandoning either their mother-tongue or religion, for neither the Swanglas nor the Bodhis were prepared to accommodate them in their fold or have a closer social interaction with them.

The only impact of this long and sustained contact visible on the linguistic behaviour of Chinalis is non-phonemic affrication of palatal sounds and a few lexical items of borrowed nature some of these may be enumerated as under :—

Lexical borrowings : Constant code mixing or code switching between divergent linguistic codes leads to the situation of pidginization in which the most affected linguistic element is the lexical stock. The existence of a number of T.B. vocables in Chinali, which otherwise has kept intact its lexical and grammatical structure, may be attributed to their constant code switching to this language. For instance, *turpya* 'bat', *phuk* 'body', *gum/gam* box, *polo* ball, *lhez* bottom, *paz* bridge, *poksa* ceiling, *hyarzi* defeat, *sal* dysentary, *hyarci* to defeat, *hurna* quietly, quickly, *migcam* eyebrow, *konza* foot, *gogpa* garlic, *taksa* gift, *me buk* glow worm, *phug* cave, *dug-dug* hard, *cinz* hoof, *tači* to lend, *tači-nhači* giving and taking, *lap* leaf, *phučang* left (side), *ropoča* musk-deer, *zer* nail (of iron), *penčep* needle, *canzi* pointed, *canza* pocket, *drong* rain-bow, *thalza* rope, *sir* sand, *diksa* elder sister's husband, *pizura* squire, *sum-zura* triangular, *gun* winter, *selča* room for summer season, *gun-ča* room for winter season.

It is also likely that after their break-away from their Aryan brethren, the Swanglas, the Chinalis on account of their segregation from the main stream of the society continued to use their mother-tongue for their in-group communication. But later on, perhaps even after acquiring linguistic and communicative competence in Manchadi, they finding it convenient to communicate any message for their private or confidential affairs in this tongue without any apprehension of being understood by a non-Chinal, preferred to keep it going, unadulterated

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by linguistic elements of the language of other group, for, allowance of this was sure to forfeit the purpose of retaining special code for in-group communication.

Another possible reason that could be visualised for resistance to the linguistic influences of an alien tongue by the low caste Chinals and non-resistance by the high caste Swanglas could be that in the initial stages of contact the Brahman Swanglas were given an honourable treatment by the original inhabitants of the valley and the Chinals were treated as out-castes. This, naturally, would have brought the former group closer to the dominant group of the region and kept at an arms distance the later group, thus, creating favourable conditions for closer social interaction between the former groups and an artificial barrier between the later two groups.

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DIE BAUERNREGELN IM DEUTSCHEN UND IN HINDI

Amrit Mehta

Die Bauernregeln, wie sie in dem deutschsprachigen Gebiet genannt werden, befassen sich fast immer mit Wettervorhersage, Ernteweissagung in Tages—und Monatsregeln, Gewittersprüchen oder Tier— und Pflanzendeutungen, die meist auf sorgfältigen Beobachtungen besonderer Wolkenformen beruhen oder von bestimmten Lostagen ausgehen. Prüfungen haben gezeigt, daß manche dieser Bauernregeln oft recht gut mit den meteorologischen Erkenntnissen übereinstimmen, andere haben jedoch infolge von Klimaschwankungen ihren Sinn eingebüßt. Manche haben sich aber als Aberglaube erwiesen oder sind auf Gebiete übertragen worden, auf die sie nicht zutreffen. Vor einigen Jahrhunderten mußten die Bauern verschiedener Länder von der Natur abhängig sein. Kaum gab es damals die wissenschaftliche meteorologische Grundlage, die den Bauern wetterkundlich informieren könnte. Die bauerliche Erfahrung von Jahrhunderten wurde zur bauerlichen Weisheit. Daraus entstanden Bauernregeln, die so gereimt wurden, daß man sie nicht einfach vergaß und die ein Teil der Folklore in den deutschsprachigen Ländern wurden. In Indien wurden sie im hindisprachigen Gebiet von 2 Dichtern namens Ghagh und Bhaddari in eine Form gebracht, wurden aber trotzdem volkstümlich weiterverbreitet. Sie sind in Indien nicht mehr nur als Bauernregeln betrachtet, sondern als Sprichwörter sind sie in Hindi normiert worden und werden oft von anerkannten Autoren in ihren literarischen Werken benutzt.

Die Naturvölker, wie z.B. Polynesier, Indianer, Afrikaner usw. kannten die Bauernregeln auch, aber dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich nur mit den Bauernregeln in Hindi und im Deutschen. Da diese Studie eigener Art ist und keine ähnliche Arbeit vorhanden ist, habe ich die Analyse auf meine eigene Untersuchungen basiert. Die Bauernregeln aus dem Deutschen und aus Hindi haben keinen physischen Einfluß aufeinander ausgeübt. Sie haben sich getrennt auf zwei verschiedenen Erdteilen mit verschiedenen kulturellen, religiösen, klimatischen und geographischen Hintergründen entwickelt.

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Ein Grund zur Auswahl der Bauernregeln für die Studie ist das Vorhandensein Primärliteratur über sie in den beiden Sprachen. Um ein Ergebnis zu erlangen, habe ich insgesamt 60 repräsentative deutschen Bauernregeln ausgewählt und sie mit denen aus Hindi verglichen.

Während in den deutschsprachigen Ländern etliche unbekannte Bauern deren Regeln dargelegt haben, sind unter dem nordindischen Volk derartige von Ghagh und Bhaddari gesagte bzw. gesungene Verse weitverbreitet. Obwohl bei uns in Indien die sogenannten Bauernregeln seit Vedischer Zeit bekannt waren, als Parashar Muni wetterkundliche Vorhersagen mittels Verse gemacht hatte, habe ich mich nur auf die von Ghagh und Bhaddari formulierten Bauernregeln beschränkt, weil die nordindischen Bauern z.Z. nur ihre Verse kennen und sie z.T. mit Vorteil benutzen. In der Vedischen Zeit hatte Parashar Muni in Sanskrit geschrieben :

मृत्सुवर्णसमा माघे पौषे रजतसन्निभा ।
चैत्रे ताम्रसमाख्याता शान्यतुल्या च माघवे ॥

(Pflügt man in Magha, erhält man aus der Erde Gold, die in Pausch gepflügte Erde gibt Silber, in Chaitra gepflügte Kupfer und in Baisakha gepflügte Erde gibt Nahrungsmittel).

Diese Vorhersage gilt in den heutigen Umständen nicht mehr, weil die atmosphärischen Zustände in der Vedischen Zeit ganz anders von heute sein könnten. Sie stellt aber die Tatsache fest, daß die indische Bevölkerung alte Erfahrungsregeln auf dem Gebiet der Landwirtschaft auch viel früher kannte. Auch zu erwähnen wäre Shiva Kavis "Daulti Baga Vilas", das er 1864 schrieb. Shiva Kavi war ein Hofdichter König Daulat Raos von Gwalior, der einen großen Garten um seinen Palast hatte. Auf seinen Wunsch hatte Shiva Kavi dieses Buch über Gartenkunst geschrieben, das 1 Sortha, 328 Dohe, 81 Gitika Chhand, 1 Mantra und 2 Erläuterungen enthält; die meisten von ihnen sind Hinweise auf Bauern über Gartenkunst. Da die Verse von Shiva Kavi nicht volkstümlich verbreitet wurden, bleiben wir bei Ghagh und Bhaddari, deren Sprichwörter ein Teil der bäuerlichen Weisheit in Nordindien geworden sind. Es ist bestritten, wo und wann die beiden Dichter geboren wurden, aber mit Hilfe der Sekundärliteratur hat man gewissermaßen feststellen können, daß Ghagh und Bhaddari in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jh. gelebt haben. Ghagh wurde

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in der Nähe von Kannauj in Uttar Pradesh und Bhaddari wurde in Rajasthangeboren. Das Zeitalter der weiten Verbreitung der Bauernregeln in ihrer gegenwärtigen Form in den deutschsprachigen Ländern scheint auch ungefähr dieselbe zu sein, wie man von ihrer Sprache wahrnimmt.

Da sich die Bauernregeln hauptsächlich mit den mit der Landwirtschaft verbundenen Problemen beschäftigen, ist dabei ein Vergleich von Geographie und Klima beider Sprachgebiete von großer Bedeutung. Daraus zieht man den Schluß, daß während in Indien Bewässerung und Regen wegen der Jahr für Jahr wiederkehrenden Trockenheit eine wichtigere Rolle spielen, sind Schnee und Kälte in dem deutschsprachigen Raum ein sehr wichtiges Element.

Bevor man sich mit den literarischen Aspekten wie z. B. mit Sprache und Stil beschäftigt, wäre eine konfrontative Analyse der Geschichte, Religion, Kultur und Gesellschaft beider Sprachgebiete imperativ. Der sozial-ökonomische Hintergrund in den beiden Sprachgebieten ist auch dabei in Betracht zu nehmen.

Obwohl die Geschichte von Indien mit der von den deutschsprachigen Ländern in den letzten 500 Jahren nichts gemeinsam hat, ist ein Wesenszug dergleichen in der Geschichte der Bauern der beiden Gebiete, d. h. die beiden haben zum größeren Teil unter Feudalismus gelitten. Während die deutschen Bauernregeln kein Zeichen davon geben, haben die Bauernregeln in Hindi Kritik darüber geübt :

आठ गांव का चौधरी, बीस गांव का राज ।

अपने काम न छावई, ऐसी तैसी में जाउ ॥

(Zum Teufel mit dem Landbesitzer, der Boden
in 8 oder 20 Dörfern besitzt, aber niemandem hilft.)

Die deutschen Bauernregeln haben von den sozial-ökonomischen Problemen ihrer Zeit geschwiegen, die in Hindi haben aber sie ausdrücklich hervorgehoben, wie das oben zitierte Beispiel zeigt.

Religiöse Motive tauchen bei den Bauernregeln beider Sprachen sehr oft auf. Bei den Deutschen ist es Christentum, und bei den Indischen ist es Hinduismus, wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen :

Deutsch : Sankt Elisabeth sagt an,
Was der Winter für ein Mann.

Hindi : जो हर होंगे बरसनहार, काह करे दक्खिनी बयार ।

(Wenn Gott Shiva Regen wünscht, was
kann denn der Südwind tun ?)

Die religiösen Feste, die ein untrennbares Teil deutscher und indischer Kultur sind, spielen eine bedeutende Rolle dabei, wenn es sich um die Prophezeien über das Wetter und daher über die Landwirtschaft handelt :

Deutsch : Peter and Paul beißen dem Korne die Wurzeln ab.

Hindi : दिवाली को बोए दिवालिया ।

(Wer am Diwali sät, der wird pleite)

Die deutschen Bauernregeln haben wiederum keinen Kommentar über die damalige Gesellschaft zu machen, während diejenigen in Hindi ein viel größeres Spektrum behandeln. Ghagh und Bhaddari haben dabei über die Rolle der Frau, das Kastensystem, die abergläubige Haltung des Volkes, Ruhe und Ordnung usw. kommentiert und manchmal auch kritisiert. Ein Beispiel :

उत्तम खेती मध्यम बान । निष्कृष्ट सेवा भीख निदान ॥

(Landwirtschaft ist der beste Beruf, Handel ist mittelmäßig,
Dienen ist am schlimmsten, Betteln ist aber hassenswert.)

Die Sprache von den deutschen Bauernregeln stammt aus Mitteldeutschland und die Sprache der Bauernregeln in Hindi ist Avadhi mit Elementen aus verschiedenen Gegenden von Nord- und Mittelindien. Eine komparative Studie deren Stil offenbart, daß man Umgangssprache und manchmal vulgäre Sprache benutzt hat. Die dichterische Freiheit haben die Versschmiede in beiden Sprachen geübt, indem sie die Sprache syntaktisch manipuliert haben, um den Vers zu reimen. Eine Mehrheit der deutschen Bauernregeln ist einzeilig, höchstens zweizeilig. Bei den Bauernregeln in Hindi sind aber dagegen mehrere Varianten vorhanden. Die Größe der Verse reicht von einer Zeile bis neun Zeilen. Es gibt reinen sowie unreinen Reim in beiden Sprachen, aber während die indischen Bauernregeln im Dohastil und auch sonst können gesungen werden, gilt es im Fall deutscher Bauernregeln nicht.

Obwohl die schlichten Bauern damals über die inhaltlich bedingten rhetorischen Figuren und Mittel nichts wußten, haben sie beim

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Dichten nämlich diese Figuren und Mittel unbewußt freilich in Gebrauch genommen. Alle rhetorischen Figuren sind von den Volksdichtern gebraucht worden. Unter den rhetorischen Mitteln haben sie Gebrauch von Apostrophe, Emphase, Hyperbel, Antithese, Anapher, Parallelismus und Simile gemacht. Während Ghagh und Bhaddari rhetorische Frage, Alliteration und Annosanz öfter benutzt haben, haben die unbekannten deutschen Dichter öfteren Gebrauch von Litotes gemacht. Der Gebrauch von Amplifikation und Komposita ist von den beiden Seiten kaum gemacht worden.

Die Vergleichung der Bauernweisheiten aus den 2 Sprachgebieten verdeutlicht die Vielseitigkeit der Schöpfer der indischen Bauernregeln. Die Reichweite der behandelten Aspekte variiert von Problemen des Familienlebens bis auf Naturheilkunde. Die Kritik über die sozialen Probleme ihrer Zeit hebt die sozial-reformatorische Seite von Ghagh und Bhaddari auch hervor.

Bei der inhaltlichen Vergleichung kann man die Bauernregeln beider Sprachen in 3 Kategorien einordnen. Einmal diejenigen, deren inhaltliche Äquivalente bei den indischen Bauernregeln überhaupt nicht zu finden sind, z. B. :

Dezember lau und lind, der ganze Winter ein Kind.

Der zitierte Vers erweist die typische Angst der Europäer vor Winter. In den nördlichen Teilen von Indien freut man sich dagegen auf den Winter, weil die Sonne durch das ganze Jahr scheint und der Sommer des nördlichen Tieflands nicht selten unerträglich wird.

Dann gibt es einige deutsche Bauernregeln, deren genaues Äquivalent in Hindi nicht besteht, aber das Hindiebenbild ungefähr den gleichen Sinn ausdrückt, wie das deutsche. Ein Beispiel, das eine Antithese darstellt :

Deutsch : An Laurentius man pflügen muß.

Hindi : पुरुवा रोपे पूर किसान । आधा खखड़ी आधा धान ॥
पुरुवा में जिन रोपो भैया । एक धान में सोलह पैया ॥

(Wenn man in Purva bebaut, wird ein großes
Teil von Reiskorn durch Unkraut verdorben.)

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Dann kommen diejenigen Bauernregeln im Deutschen und in Hindi, die sinngemäß denselben Verstand für die landwirtschaftlichen Probleme der Bauern zeigen. Dabei könnten diese weiter in Vorhersagen und Weisheiten über Trockenheit, allgemeines Wetter, Benehmen der Tiere und der Vögel, Nutzbarkeit der Düngmittel, Rindvieh usw. eingereiht werden. Ein Beispiel über die Nutzbarkeit der Düngmittel ist wie folgendes :

Deutsch : Gut gedüngt ist halb gewachsen.

Hindi : खाद परे तो खेत । नहीं तो कूड़ा रेत ॥

(Ein ungedüngter Acker nützt nichts.)

Folgende Beispiele aus den beiden Sprachen unterrichten über das Benehmen des Wetters und seine Folgen :

Deutsch : Juliregen nimmt Erntesegen.

Hindi : जब बरखा चित्रा में होय । सगरी खेती जावे खोय ॥

(Regnet es in Chitra, geht der Acker verloren.)

Beispiele über das Benehmen der Tiere bzw. der Vögel :

Deutsch : Reißt die Spinne ihr Netz entzwei
kommt der Regen bald vorbei.

Hindi : कलसा पानी गरम हो, चिड़िया न्हावै धूर ।
झंडा ले चींटी चलै, तो बरखा भरपूर ॥

(Wenn das Wasser im Topf warm wird, Sperrling im Staub sitzt und Ameisen Eier legen, wird es ausreichend regnen.)

Nach dem Vergleich der Bauernregeln bzw. Bauernweisheiten aus dem Deutschen und aus Hindi kommt man zur Schlußfolgerung, daß einige deutsche Bauernweisheiten mit den Indischen nicht voll inhaltlich identisch sind. Dies könnte hier auch nicht möglich sein, weil die Sprache und Kultur der beiden Sprachgebiete sich unabhängig voneinander entwickelt haben. Hauptsache ist jedoch, daß trotz der inhaltlichen, religiösen, kulturellen und geographischen Verschiedenheiten läßt sich feststellen, daß in den beiden Kulturen die Abhängigkeit des Menschen von der Atmosphäre anerkannt wird. Der Mensch hat

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dabeidurch Beobachtungen fürs Alltagsleben gewisse Regeln zugelegt, die nicht nur ein literarischer Schatz seien, sondern den kommenden Generationen brauchbar sein könnten.

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THE NATURE OF ABSOLUTE AND ITS PLACE IN *KASHMIR ŚAIVISM*

Narasingha Panda

Kashmir Śaivism is a well developed monistic system which deserves a significant place amongst the great philosophies of the world. It is called Kashmir Śaivism because the writers who enriched its literature belonged to and flourished in this area.¹

This Śaiva system is purely a monistic system of philosophy which represents the absolutistic development of Śaiva tradition, and may be described as theistic absolutism, "Īśvarādvayavāda". Since ancient times advaitism appears to be a very favourite concept of the Indians. Elements of advaitism can certainly be traced in Samhitās. It was popular both in the Upaniṣads as well as in the epics. Different forms of absolutism prevailed during early days. The elements which gave rise to the growth of integral Śaiva Absolutism were present in the ancient Śaiva theology.² But before the emergence of absolutistic Śaivism, the Buddhist thought was predominant in Kashmir. Though Śaivism has its own ancient tradition and seems to be the native faith of Kashmir, there has been a tremendous influence of Buddhism upon its development. Prior to the advent of Buddhism in Kashmir, Śaivism was confined to a simple form of worship.³ It is the Buddhist concept of Śūnyatā which provided the metaphysical foundation for the growth of integral Advaitism within the Śaiva tradition. The influence of Śūnyavāda upon Tantricism has been widely recognised.

It has also been said that Śaṅkara had close affinity with Tantricism. There are some indications of Śaṅkara's affinity to Pratyabhijñā thought. Śaṅkara himself was a great devotee of Śrīvidyā which has many similarities with the Pratyabhijñā. The authorship of Prapañcasāra also has been attributed to Śaṅkara. There prevailed the popular view that Śaṅkara wrote the commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras after repeatedly reflecting upon Sūta-Samhitā⁴ which contains teachings similar to Śaiva Absolutism. If Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra could be regarded as a work of Śaṅkara, then his relationship with Tantricism

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can easily be established.⁵ The fact that many adherents of Śaivism and Śāktism, like Bhaskara Ray and others, referring to Śaṅkara as an authority after his death also points out the relationship.⁶ Moreover, Śaṅkara's influence on Kashmir Śaivism can very well be judged from the fact that this system could develop only after Śaṅkara had visited Kashmir. The visit of Śaṅkara proved to be of great help to the local Śaivites in their struggle against Buddhism which had been a serious challenge to them. It appears as if the great master of Vedānta cleared the way for the rise and advancement of Śaiva Absolutism.

The term 'absolute' is quite vague and elusive in its metaphysical usage. The absolute is a term used by philosophers to signify the ultimate reality regarded as one and yet as the source of variety, as complete and perfect, and as not divorced from the finite, imperfect world.⁷ Every absolutism is infact an advaitism or advayavāda, a nondualism. The absolute is the sole and supreme reality in the *Mādhyaṃika*, the *Yogācāra*, the Vedānta, and the Kashmir Śaivism.

Kashmir Śaivism believes in the existence of one reality which has been variously called as the Supreme Śiva (Parama Śiva), Supreme Lord (Parameśvara), Supreme Saṃvid (Para Saṃvid) and supreme experiencing principle. The essential characteristic of Śaiva absolute is the free act of consciousness. The Śaivite interpretation of the supreme self is unique in itself and is not found anywhere else. The act of Consciousness, or the characteristic feature of the agent in the act of consciousness, is spoken of as the self. Unlike the Vedantin who conceives consciousness as pure consciousness, the Śaivite regards it essentially as free consciousness. It can not be described as *Śūnya* which is wholly negative in character. Freedom alone is the distinguishing feature of the absolute. It is the cause of real, not illusory manifestation of the world. So, the Śaiva absolute might be described as essentially free being. The term "Svātantrya" indicates that the essence of consciousness consists in great lordship (Māheśvarya). It represents the chief characteristic of the absolute according to Śaivite. In this respect, Paramaśiva differs from Brahman.⁸ *Svātantrya Śakti*, being essentially the power of consciousness, is also known as *cit śakti*. Sometimes it also stands for self consciousness. The term "Svātantrya" has also frequently been used in the Śaiva literature. So the Śaiva Absolutism has often been described as "Svātantryavāda".

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Although the terms like Svātantrya, Śakti, ahaṁtā, sphūrattā, Vimarśa, etc., represent the dynamic aspect of the absolute, all of them do not equally emphasize the same form of dynamism. While ahaṁtā emphasizes the dynamism of integration, Sphūrattā indicates the manifestation of the unmanifest. Similarly, Vimarśa expresses the determination of the indeterminate and Svātantrya stands for the capacity to perform the impossible.

In its essential nature, the absolute has been conceived as being, consciousness and bliss (*sat, cit, ānanda*), in both Śaiva and Vedānta Absolutisms. But, unlike the Vedānta Absolutism, there is no clear cut distinction between the accidental characteristics of the Absolute in the Śaiva Absolutism. Accordingly, we shall be confined mainly to considering the distinction between the concepts of "Saccidānanda" in the two systems. It has rightly been said that although each of these three terms denotes one and the same entity, each does so differently. These terms are not concepts or predicates, each is *Sui generis* the self. Being, Consciousness and Bliss are employed only to differentiate them from their opposites, signifying that self is not non-being, etc. But this does not amount to Buddhist *apohavāda*, which means exclusion from all other, e.g. the concept 'blue' means merely that is not yellow, not red etc.⁹ Both the Śaivite and Vedāntin reject the view that existence is momentary. They commonly hold that the eternal existence is the ground and support of all variable and finite existence. But whereas the Vedāntin regards the finite and momentary existence as limitation of the absolute pure existence, the Śaivite holds it to be a real manifestation of the infinite existence. The Vedāntin holds that the 'red' is such that its nature remains constant, and the unreal, on the contrary, is that whose nature is subject to variations.

In the Śaiva system, the absolute is taken to be the fullest and richest existence. It is the all, the transcendent and integral reality of all finite existence. It is one, or same, which is the perfect harmony of opposites. There is no negation of finitude, but merely a rejection of discord in it. It is being, such as does not include not being; it is consciousness which manifests even the absence of consciousness.¹⁰ The Vedāntin puts 'Sat' before the beginning of everything and regards it to be the ultimate principle. According to him, existence would cease to be eternal, if it is also varied with the variable. So it can not be denoted by words which, like 'being', in the usual sense signify a

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category of things. Being or existence has to be regarded as coeval with consciousness, without consciousness, existence would be nothing in itself. That is why the Śaivite and the Vedāntin both agree that existence and consciousness can not be related to each other as substance and attribute.

In the Śaiva Absolutism, 'cit' or consciousness, like existence, is illimitable and infinite. In the absolute existence consciousness, there is an inherent freedom or power which is infinite in itself. Consciousness in its very essence is conscious power (cit śakti). Unlike the Vedāntin, who conceives consciousness, the Śaivite regards it essentially as free consciousness. As there is no conception of 'cit Śakti' in the Vedānta, there can be no place for the doctrine of absolute self consciousness in it. In Śaiva Absolutism, the absolute is ānanda, because, besides being the Bhūma, it is also freedom or Vimarśa, or self consciousness. This brings out the main difference of the Śaiva conception of ānanda from that of the Vedānta. Parama-Śaiva is itself described as ānanda and there is also the experience of ānanda in it. If there were no consciousness of ānanda, there could be no sense in describing the absolute in terms of Bliss. We have to accept that in the absolute there is an experience of ānanda. But in Vedānta, on the other hand, the absolute does not have any consciousness of ānanda; it is ānanda itself. Ananda can not be regarded as an object of experience, as there is no subject-object relationship within Brahman. An admission of such distinction would amount to a division of the indivisible non-dual Reality. So obviously, the description of the absolute as 'Saccidānanda' has different implications in the two systems. According to Śaiva absolutist, Parama-Śiva is ever a personal-impersonal God. Will (Icchā), knowledge (Jñāna), and Action (Kriyā) constitute the essential nature of 'Saccidānanda' and the world is a real manifestation of it. The two highest power, viz., cit Śakti, and Ānanda Śakti, are fully manifest both at the transcendent and empirical levels. The other three Śāktis, Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā, become manifest only during Creation. So He is all pervading and at the same time He is also all transcending. That is to say his nature has a 'two fold' aspect. The first one is an immanent aspect (Viśvātmaka) in which form he pervades and permeates the entire universe and is one and all. In the later form He transcends all and is beyond all universal manifestations in which aspect (Viśvottīrpa). He has been called

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Anuttara¹² and Tattvātīta or paratattva.¹³ The word anuttara implies that it is a reality beyond which there is nothing. It is not to be spoken of as 'this' or 'that' nor as 'not this' or 'not that'. This concept of anuttara is very much similar to that of pure Brahman of Vedāntin. The Śaivite also agrees with Vedāntin in accepting the world as non-different from Brahman, but rejects the Vedāntic view that the world is illusory. For them (Śaivites) the world is a real manifestation of the absolute. The universe is essentially identical with the absolute.¹⁴

The Śaiva absolutist describes Parama-Śiva as 'Caitanya'.¹⁵ The Vedāntins also conceive Brahman, the supreme Reality as of the nature of caitanya which is self-effulgence light. But according to trika school, caitanya is not merely the nature of Śuddha Prakāśa which does not always shine and illumine but also possesses power of self-illumination or self-manifestation. The caitanya in the trika system, is therefore, described as prakāśa Vimarśamaya. Prakāśa stands for the pure changeless witness aspect of the universal consciousness. Vimarśa, on the other hand, stands for the power which gives rise to self-consciousness, self-knowledge and action successively. Prakāśa and Vimarśa are inseparable. Prakāśa is regarded as the "Śiva and Vimarśa is regarded as 'Śakti' and the nityasāmarasya of Śiva and Śakti is Paramaśiva. But Vedāntins do not admit the above view of Śaivites. Neither do they admit to Māyā as a Śakti of Brahman, nor they admit that there is an inherent relation between Brahman and Māyā. Hence, in this respect Śaivites are clearly opposed to Vedāntins.

The Śaiva absolutist also describes the Parama-Śiva as the Absolute subject (Para Pramātā). The absolute is the supreme "I", the all-inclusive Reality. The conception of the absolute as the supreme ego enables the Śaivite to avoid the two extremes of the danger of drifting towards the abstract of pure monism of the Vedānta type and drowning into the great void of the Mādhyamika. But it is not necessary to reject either the subject or the object, the knower or the known, in order to arrive at the notion of the absolute. For, it is the very nature of the self to manifest itself simultaneously as the knower and the known, as it ever performs the transcendental functions of nighaḥa and Anugraha, self concealment and self revelation. The 'I' is the integral and all-comprehensive reality and indicates the all-inclusive and the all-pervading nature of absolute. The use of the

pronoun of the 1st person (I or aham) shows that Śiva is the essential ego or the subject of thought in all forms of consciousness. The 'ah' in 'aham' represents all the letters of the Devanāgarī alphabetic system from 'A to H' and as such, signifies all the basic ideas manifested by the absolute consciousness. 'AM' stands for 'bindu' and signifies that the absolute, the Anuttara, though manifesting itself in the various forms of thought does not lose its essential nature but ever remains in its own unbroken light of consciousness.¹⁶ All the ideas, which are represented by the letters from 'A to H' arise from the rest in the absolute in so far as they are the manifestation of its power of freedom.¹⁷

As we have seen, the Śaiva Absolutist insists that the absolute being the integral reality in all, it is both Nirguṇa as well as Saguṇa and is always endowed with the power of free consciousness. What the Vedāntin describes as the highest reality, the Nirguṇa Brahman, is in reality a lower form of reality. Beyond the Nirguṇa, there are higher forms of manifestation of the absolute which can not be limited to this or that form. The main concern of the Śaivite is to establish the absoluteness of God. According to him, the God of religion is itself the absolute and ultimate reality. We have also seen that in the Śaiva Absolutism, the absolute is regarded not merely as being consciousness but also as the being which is at the same time self-conscious. The Vedānta absolute, on the other hand, is pure witness consciousness. However, unlike the Mādhyamika Absolute which does not even have a nature (Svarūpa) of its own, the Vedānta absolute is being itself. But according to Śaiva Absolutists, the Vedānta absolute lacks consciousness. Possession of both being and consciousness constitutes the essential nature of the Śaiva Absolute.

In the final analysis, we have to admit that every absolutism, in spite of its similarities with others, has its peculiar characteristics owing to its unique tradition and approach which provide it an individuality. Like wise, the nature of absolute (Supreme Reality) in Kashmir Śaivism, which has been explained, is completely different from other Āstika darśanas in Indian Philosophy. In this Kashmir-Śaiva-system, the absolute is said not to be limited or conditioned by Kāla i.e. Trikalābādhita, deśa and form. Also his real Svarūpa has been characterised as Viśvātmaka and viśvottīrṇa in this system. In this respect His (parama-Śivas) Nature appears to be more clear than any other Āstika darśanas and as a result, it deserves a unique place amongst other philosophies of the world.

THE NATURE OF ABSOLUTE AND ITS PLACE IN KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

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SAMUEL BECKETT : FREEDOM FROM STORY TELLING

M. K. Choudhury

The baffling Beckettian quibble, "*Nothing is more real than nothing*"¹ is the central issue of his fiction in respect of both substance and art. His *Trilogy* is an expression in narrative terms of his aesthetics of void, its basic preoccupation being an obligation to express that there is nothing to express. It is strictly in conformity with his prescription of art of a new order that has freed itself from the realm of the feasible, from the 'farce of giving and receiving' and has directed itself to the discovery of its 'insuperable idigence' in representing self and world, in identifying the perceiver and the perceived. This art of new order is an admission that "there is nothing to express, nothing with which to express, nothing from which to express, no power to express, no desire to express together with the obligation to express."²

Beckett's *Trilogy*, written in ruthless fidelity to his conception of art, can be described as fiction of the void. By directing our attention to the defective media of consciousness and language with which the novel as an art form attempts to give substance, form and meaning to self and the world, the *Trilogy* undermines the very basis of the novel and its assumptions, convictions and conventions. What Beckett writes, therefore, is not fiction but sub-fiction. He forces us to see his fiction not as a narrative composition but as a narrative decomposition. Simultaneously as his protagonists, preoccupied with the single task of 'finish dying', are dispossessed of their material possessions and physical and mental faculties, the novel gets dispossessed of its treasured properties of omniscient consciousness, story, character, plot and finally its power of speech. As their body and mind suffer decomposition due to old age, the novel experiences the same until it is reduced to a state resembling Unnamable—a limbless and decomposed human trunk, or just a nameless voice resounding in the void.

Beckett's fiction is the ultimate in the novel of subjectivity. His object of study is the self of the self, or self and its 'pale imitations',

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the essential 'I' among 'They' who are myriad variations on the 'I'. Beckett's preoccupation with the definition of self and its cognitive structure results on the one hand in an increasing distancing from the objective world till the latter is fully excluded, and on the other a gradual enlargement of the inner space to the point where self confronts itself as a void. The turning inward process initiated by modernist fiction meets its horrifying end, its final annihilation, in Beckett's fiction. The realization of self being non-existent makes Beckett's narrator characters dread speaking of themselves. Unnamable fears that his speech "can only be of one and here."³ To avoid the painful task of admitting himself as void, Unnamable tells stories which are inventions, lies—Stories of Murphy, Molloy, Moran, Malone, Basil, Mahood, Worm etc. He is fully conscious that he is just fooling himself—"All these Murphys, Molloyes and Morans do not fool me"⁴—in order to escape the task of speaking of himself. Malone too begins his narration with the task of "looking at myself as I am,"⁵ but diverts to telling stories about Sapo, Moll, Macmann (Mockman)—his pretexts for avoiding the disastrous truth. Beckett's narrators are forced to create fiction which is a series of hypotheses and assumptions, engage themselves in ceaseless process of narration to postpone the calamitous truth. Unnamable admits that story-telling is 'idle talk', an 'imposed task' undertaken to console himself :

Ah yes, all lies. God and man, nature and the light of day, the heart's outpourings and the means of understanding, all invented, basely, by me alone, with the help of no one, since there is no one, to put off the hour when I speak of me.⁶

In Beckett's hands thus, fiction loses its very *raison d'être* and becomes fiction [per se or fiction of narration. And writing of fiction finally becomes a desperate quest for means to abolish fiction. Unnamable describes the process of fiction's self-immolation :

One starts things moving without a thought of how to stop them. In order to speak. One starts speaking as if it were possible to stop at will. It is better so. The search for the means to put an end to things, an end to speech, is what enables the discourse to continue. No, I must not try to think, simply utter. Method or no method I shall have to banish them in the end, the beings, things, shapes, sounds and lights with which my

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haste to speak has encumbered this place. In the frenzy of utterance the concern with truth. Hence the interest of a possible deliverance by means of encounter.⁷

The crucial awareness of Beckett's narrator characters regarding the futility of the task of representing self and reality in art, of the narrative resources and modes of comprehending reality and shaping it into an organic form with a beginning, a middle and an end of defining and naming objects by means of language, issue from the problem of knowledge, consciousness and the identity of being.⁸ Beckett's fiction projects the problem of one's apprehension or comprehension of reality as grounded in the enigma of the nature of consciousness. One of the agonised voices in *Texts For Nothing* murmurs, "Ah yes, we seem to be more than one, all deaf, gathered together for life."⁹ Each individual is composed of a heterogeneous and temporal series of selves. The way oneself sees the world at a point in time appears to be illusory to another self of the same consciousness at a different point in time. It results in an endless process of one's view of reality, one's explanation of universe cancelled by the other 'one' of the same consciousness. The heterogeneous selves within the same consciousness fall to reach a consensus regarding their perception of reality and thereby attempt to give reality an intelligible structure is undermined.

This awareness infuses in Molloy the futility of his efforts to describe persons and scenes. While talking of his resolutions, he says in innuendo, "But to tell the truth (to tell the truth!)."¹⁰ He make us doubt the connection between the account of his adventures and those adventures as they really happened. He warns us that the "limpid language" he now uses expresses nothing more than his "merely complying with the convention that demands you either lie or hold your peace. For what really happened was quite different."¹¹ Molloy the participant in the action and Molloy the narrator of action are different because, as he explains, "simply somewhere something had changed, so that I too had to change, or the world too had to change, in order for nothing to be changed."¹² As the last part of the sentence subverts the earlier one, so Molloy's fiction subverts reality. Whatever Molloy tries to say, define or describe appears to be incorrect. He cannot name the night he spent in the fields on his way to his mother's house, "I say that night, but there was more than one perhaps. The lie, the lie, to lying thought."¹³ All Beckett's narrators experience and articulate the act of story-telling as "Rhetoric" of lies and obscurities,

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or as "aporia"—endless speech composed of "affirmations and negations invalidated as uttered."¹⁴ Molloy experiences story telling as a "senseless, speechless, issueless misery"¹⁵ because of this ceaseless and unproductive dialectics of 'yes' and 'no', what the 'Calmative' voice in *Texts for Nothing* describes as "no's knife in yes's wound" :

And whose the shame, at every mute micro-millisyllable, and unshakable infinity of remorse delving ever deeper in its bite, at having to hear, having to say, fainter than the faintest murmur, so many lies, so many times the same lie lyingly denied, whose the screaming silence of no's knife in yes's wound, it wonders.¹⁶

Molloy is a queer memory novel in which the narrator character is seen engaged in patching together a period of his life. The objective world described by Molloy is vague, ambiguous and featureless. He confuses times, places, persons, objects as a result of which everything in the world recalled by him loses distinction and identity. He is sure of nothing—whether it was A & C or A or C he saw, whether he visited the house of Mrs. Louse or Loi, or whether his old lover was called Ruth or Edith. The interesting inner drama of *Molloy* is constituted of the collision between the experiencing self and the remembering self.¹⁷ They look identical but they are not so and are as unlike as the two crosses joined by a bar (an object which he stole from Mrs. Louse's house and one of his most treasured possessions) an upper with its opening above and the other lower with its opening below. The dilemma that Molloy as a story-teller faces issues from his inability to locate his identity, a single perceiving, knowing and operative self. This results in the disappearance of a stable and definite perspective. Here and 'there', 'now' and 'then', and persons all get mixed up, and hence time, place and objects, when represented in art, are necessarily deprived of features and dimensions.

The ultimate problem in story telling is 'entirely a matter of voices' as Unnamable makes us aware again and again. As the heterogeneous selves come in turn to talk, replacing each other without warning, the mediating voice of the narrator gets lost and Beckett's fiction turns into a babble of voices. Literary narrative being a mediatized and not an immediate language, the narrator has to retain the identity of his voice in order to mediate between the story and the reader and to maintain perspective or narrative angle on which depends the organisation of the story and projection of meaning. Since Beckett's

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narrator finds his 'I' being usurped by his characters or suffers his characters' tyrannical attempts to impose their voices on him, he is seen in perpetual quest for a voice of his own. Beckett chose autobiographical mode to highlight this impasse.

The self and the world being unintelligible, the writer's sole task is to reveal this shattering truth through writing on the process of writing in which we find Molloy, Malone, Unnamable and the unnamed narrator of *Texts For Nothing* are engaged. David H. Hesla very correctly observes that Beckett's *Trilogy* is "about the writing of a novel when the author's sense of the nature of human self and human existence has invalidated the novelist's traditional material. Or, the trilogy is what a writer writes when, horrified and desperate, he realizes that for him there is nothing about which to write, the felt obligation to write continuing, however, to persist."¹⁸

The "felt obligation to write continuing" is born out of the writer's belief in the cathartic effect of writing on the author. Writing is a process of shedding illusions regarding the possibility of ascertaining the identity of self and its relation to the world. It is journeying towards non-being and non-meaning, a quest for a shelter from the "elements of manking."¹⁹ Molloy's journey to his mother's house and his narration of the same both are directed to this end. In the opening part of *Molloy* we find him confined in his mother's room where he was brought in an ambulance after he had fallen in a ditch during his journey towards his mother's house. "Here is beginning", he says. The narration begins with the description of A and C moving slowly towards each other on "a road remarkably bare." The purpose of his journey, he says, is to establish his relation with his mother "on a less precarious footing"²⁰ :

All my life, I think, I had been bent on it. Yes, so far I was capable of being bent on anything all a lifetime long, and what a lifetime, I had been bent on settling this matter between my mother and me, but had never succeeded.²¹

Molloy's relationship with his mother is overtly oedipal. According to John Fletcher the phrase 'precarious footing' refers to Molloy's incestuous desire for his mother, and his sense of guilt caused by his rejection of his father.²² The fundamental desire of Molloy's life has been to be "all for the mother" and replace his father. He refers to

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his father only once while talking about his mother :

She never called me son, fortunately, I could not have borne it, but Dan, I don't know why, my name is not Dan. Dan was my father's name perhaps, yes perhaps she took me for my father.... I called her Mag, when I had to call her something. And I called her Mag because for me, without my knowing why, the letter g abolished the syllable Ma, and as it were spat on it, better than other letter would have done.²³

Molloy's relation with his mother, however, has an ontological dimension. In this context, Molloy's journey towards his mother's house needs to be interpreted as the writer's journey (the process of his writing) towards a freedom from writing. Molloy's quest, through writing, for a definite identity is made problematic by his confronting the enigmatic multiplicity of selves, his prompters, his premonition of "the last but one but one." The quest for self becomes an unending and hopeless task of pursuing something which is infinitely changing and receding into nothing. He, therefore, marks the end of his quest as "to be beyond knowing anything, to know you are beyond knowing anything, that is when peace enters in, to the soul of the incurious seeker."²⁴ In fact, he is seeking deliverance from consciousness and speech—the elements of mankind. It, therefore, calls for interpreting the purpose of his journey as his desire, to return to the state of foetus in his mother's womb, since a foetus has life but it has not the faculties of consciousness and speech.

This desire is first unknowingly projected by Molloy during his interrogation at the police station. When asked about his identity, he suddenly remembers his name and cries out 'Molloy'. When the sergeant further asks whether his mother's name is Molloy too, Molloy assents, "very likely. Her name must be Molloy too."²⁵ The name of the town where his mother's house is located is 'Bally', which sounds like 'Belly'. It has been made sufficiently clear by Molloy that his desire is to be reduced to the embryo state in his mother's womb where only he can find the meaning of life, "And if I am ever reduced to looking for a meaning to my life, you never can tell, it's in that old mess I'll stick my nose to begin with."²⁶ On his way to mother he keeps on 'losing' his hat, which is symbolic of freedom from consciousness. The last part of his journey through the dark forest and his falling into a ditch at the

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end of it is symbolic of the circular movement of the foetus in the dark womb of the mother :

But there was always present to my mind, which was still working, if laboriously, the need to turn, to keep on turning, and every three or four jerks I altered course, which permitted me to describe, if not a circle, at least a great polygon, perfection is not of this world, and to hope that I was going forward in a straight line, in spite of everything, day and night, towards my mother.²⁷

His lying unconscious in the ditch refers metaphorically to the foetus, which has no consciousness, lying in the mother's womb. Molloy's circular journey back to his mother's womb is the first stage of his life. As a post-modernist version of *Sons and Lovers*, *Molloy* is a reversal of the Lawrentian quest. While Paul's basic desire is to break out of the walls of his mother's womb in order to emerge as an independent consciousness, Molloy's fundamental urge is to return to the foetal state in his mother's womb in order to find a kind of life which is free from consciousness. Hence Molloy happily takes up a uterine position.

In Beckett's fiction the urge for deliverance from consciousness is interlinked with the desire to dispense with words. Though talking is felt to be the only guarantee of identity, it prevents one from to be beyond knowing. Hence the quest is for "a voice of silence, the voice of my silence."²⁸ Beckett's narrators are acutely aware of the failure of language to express the being, convey meaning or represent objects. Reality is captive of language as soon as it begins to speak. Molloy describes words as "sounds unencumbered by precise meaning," "pure sounds, free of all meaning."²⁹ He finds it impossible to express his sense of identity through words. When he tries to represent objects in words, the object becomes a thingless name and the world dies when "fouly named". The substance of knowledge and character being words, both become insubstantial, empty. Speaking (writing) becomes filling the void with meaningless sounds. Hence Molloy communicates with his mother through gestures, a non-verbal means. In *Texts For Nothing*, Beckett parodies Conrad's desire expressed in the Preface to *Nigger and the Narcissus* to use language in an ingenious way to make the reader see, hear and feel, when

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mockingly he speaks of his plan "to tell a story, in the true sense of the words, the word we hear, the word tell, the word story."³⁰ Susan Sontag in "The Aesthetics of Silence" echoes Beckett's experience of art as a highly *problematic activity* when she states :

The "spirit" seeking embodiment in art clashes with the "material" character of art itself. Art is unmasked as gratuitous, and the very concreteness of the artist's tools (and, particularly in the case of language, their historicity) appears as a trap. Practiced in a world furnished with second-hand perceptions, and specially confounded by the treachery of words, the artist's activity is cursed with mediacy. Art becomes the enemy of the artist, for it denies him the realization—the transcendence—he desires.³¹

Beckett's fiction projects two opposing realizations. The first is the manifestation of the shattering truth about the treachery of words—how and why words fail the author. This agony is further intensified by an acute awareness that the artist deals in second-hand perceptions. The artist says in despair, "The sky, I've heard—the sky and earth, I've heard great accounts of them, now that's pure word for word. . . ."³² This twin awareness induces in Beckett's narrators a sense of despair and guilt. Their attempt to convey in words the "extravagant meaning" of life is seen by them all as an indulgence in the act of lying. As a result of this mistake they lie imprisoned in the cell of art. One of Beckett's narrators cries out in agony, "But who can I have offended so grievously, to be punished in this inexplicable way . . ."³³ *Texts For Nothing* contains a trial scene (Section V) which reminds one of Mersault's trial in Camus's *The Outsider* in its situation and implications. The scene describes a court room where the soul of the narrator is accused of a guilt of which he is unaware. The narrator's soul is condemned to stay in the dark cell of art before it is finally executed. The metaphorical terms it is the execution of the artist by art.

The second and positive realisation is that art is anti-life. The artist's soul is condemned for the act of murdering life in art. This realization forces the artist to reject art in favour of life. Imprisoned in the dark cell of art Beckett's narrator longs to see the sky again, to "be free again to come and go, in such sunshine and in rain. . ."³⁴ Unnamable speaks of "one or two manifestations the meaning of which escapes me"³⁵ But the narrator of *Texts For Nothing*, which brings the

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Trilogy to its finale, has grown to know the meaning of such manifestations. He is now fully aware that his crime lies in his attempt to tell a story for himself and his diverting to story from life, "that's the mistake I made, one of the mistakes, to have wanted a story for myself, whereas life alone is enough."³⁶ He finally resolves to dispense with story-telling and turn to life as to experience, like Mersault, the immediacy and beauty of the natural world. The heart of the matter of Beckett's fiction, thus, is the paradoxical awareness that freedom from story telling is achieved through the act of narration, that through its phoenix death fiction can effect the resurrection of life.

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10. *Trilogy*, p. 31.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
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13. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
16. *Texts For Nothing*, p. 63.
17. Unnamable describes this collision : "Two shapes then, oblong like man, entered into collision before me. They fell and I saw them no more." *Trilogy*, p. 272.

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 26. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
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LINGUISTIC-STYLISTICS : THE DANGERS OF AN AUTONOMOUS APPROACH

Arjya Sircar

Stylistics as a branch of linguistics which studies variation in language use—say in the field of commercial correspondence, science or officialese—has made steady progress through the years. Its utility even in the area of second language teaching—teaching the learner not merely the correct structures but appropriateness of use—is not entirely inconceivable. But when the stylistician—for that is how he often chooses to call himself—enters the continent of Circe—literature—his doom is total as it is inevitable. He neither knows what he is nor what he was. In what follows we should like to systematically characterize how the linguist as a linguist must fail to come to terms with himself in this venture just as the student of literature must forever look askance at this intruder, and an intruder he certainly is.

The literature student's impatience with the antics of the linguist is obvious, and not a shade less genuine for its obviousness. And this impatience, minus the frills, boils down to his inability to accept the dichotomy between *form* and *content* which the stylistician presupposes. Style as a matter of choice between equivalent or near equivalent structures is the first premise of the stylistician's trade. The literature student's retort that there are no choices as far as creative literature is concerned needs to be examined with due concern. He would maintain that when a work of art succeeds *form* and *content* interpenetrate and fuse into one. There is a certain inevitability of choice, hardly a choice therefore, which is the hall mark of all creative art. If there is a choice, the choice is not linguistic but 'epistemic'. That is to say that the mode of expression is inseparable from the experience and perception of the world. When Comte de Buffon said "*le style est l'homme même*"¹—the style is the man—he was obviously implying that the style cannot be studied independently of the man. If it were a different style it would be a different man. It is precisely this element of *une mot juste* which

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makes the stylistician's labours in this field resemble what Schopenhauer called the search of a blind man in a dark night for a black cat which isn't there. The linguist may have perfected discovery procedures to segment and classify language—even this is questioned these days—he certainly does not have the machinery to segment and classify life or literature. There are more things to literature than the linguist dreams of. The linguist (as a linguist) has no access to the moral and aesthetic values or the literary tradition which weave complex patterns in literature and literary style.

The formal stylistician, if he talks in terms of scientific principles will achieve precious little for his labours. Any attempt to approach the whole as a sum of the parts in literature in particular and the arts in general can only lead to disaster. Responding to, and being able to recognize “word mystery” and “word magic”—which makes literature, literature—is by definition a matter of taste and sensibility and to that extent, spontaneous, intuitive and subjective, which can neither be explained nor characterized in any adequate manner in terms of scientific principles. (Would “magic” be magic or a “mystery” remain a mystery if it could be explained ?) And this is something that even the stylistician does not seem to deny.²

The linguistic stylistician, therefore dare not embark on the explanatory plane; he must content himself by confining himself to the statistical plane. And here too it is doubtful how much the gain is in real terms. Consider for example, Ian Watt's analysis (1960 p. 250-74) of the first paragraph of *The Ambassadors*. He meticulously tabulates the number of non-transitive constructions, the passives, the average number of words in a sentence, the delayed reference etc. But the conclusions he draws are that there is a kind of lyricism, psychological perceptiveness, irony, suspense etc. in James' style as well as in his fictional technique. It may be noted here that this statistical analysis has revealed nothing that a sensitive reader of James did not already know. Moreover, the analysis consists of terms like *lyricism*, *psychological perceptiveness*, *irony*, *suspense* etc. with which the linguist (as a linguist) is totally unfamiliar. The most that a linguistic-stylistician can do is to make a statistical analysis and invite the literary critic to make whatever use he may want to make of it. If he can combine both the offices in himself—as has been done as we shall see

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later—excellent; but if he wishes to maintain his autonomy as a linguist, he must often run the risk of mistaking the wood for the trees.

It is not merely the literature student's bickering that the stylistician [has to contend with : his linguistic conscience will not let him have a moment's peace either. A scientist—and a linguist claims to be a scientist—always prefers to speak in terms of generalizations and idealization of raw data. There is always an attempt to control one set of variables so that other variables may be studied each individually and one at a time. But in literature one does not even know whether one can break up things into discrete units—"how can we know the dancer from the dance?"—and even if we could conceivably do this we would probably find that each individual part is in a dynamic relationship with all the others. The slightest change in any one of the units—one cannot really call them variables because they cannot be varied—affects all the other parts just as it affects the whole. Scientific enquiry, linguistics included, is most happy when a linear relationship exists; but literary style is so reflexive : it perpetually refers not only to what immediately precedes or follows but to many things not stated or mentioned at all. Perpetually, there is a reference to ethnic, cultural or literary traditions and what is more, to life itself.

Moreover, the linguistic stylistician knows that all his enquiries are paradigmatic and theory-bound. He may choose whatever theory or frame work he likes but having made his choice he must scrupulously adhere to its terms, axioms and definitions. This is the price that a scientist must pay for the precision and explicitness of his analytic techniques. He is bound to know, if his grounding in his theory is sound enough, that no major linguistic theory allows him to taste of the forbidden fruit of literature. Saussure, Bloomfield and Chomsky, perhaps the three most influential theorists in modern times, have each in their own way ruled out any possibility of the linguist's extending the scope of his field to include in it a study of literary style.

Saussure (1916) made a systematic distinction between *Langue* and *Parole*; where *Langue* was the *knowledge* of the code and *Parole* was the *use* of the code. He categorically stated that the scope of linguistics was confined to *Langue* and could not be extended to

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Parole. And what is more relevant to this discussion, Saussure excluded the *sentence* from the domain of *Langue* i.e. linguistics. It is obvious, therefore, that no theory of stylistics can be based on the Saussurean structuralist paradigm.

Bloomfield (1935, chapter 9) was even more categorical : he banished *meaning* itself from linguistics. But it is not only the linguistic presuppositions behind the structuralism of Saussure and Bloomfield that makes a stylistic analysis of a literary text inconceivable but the psychological and the philosophical presuppositions as well. The behaviouristic and positivistic bias of both the theories assume an atomistic approach which is so enemical to the study of literary style.

Chomsky (1965) on the contrary, apparently provides the most helpful basis for stylistic analysis. He not only allows *meaning* admittance into linguistics but makes use of unobservable, abstract, conceptual structures. In his theory there are also provisions for talking of *deep structural* semantic equivalences and *surface structural* syntactic variations. And it is precisely for this reason that Richard Ohman (1966 p. 261-267) straightaway opts for a transformational approach even though he had so perceptively seen the difficulty elsewhere (Ohman, 1959).

Any transformationalist who understands the full implications of his theory—and transformational grammar is so theory-oriented that it spills over even to the neighbouring disciples of psychology and philosophy—will know that any kind of analysis of literary style in this frame work is not without difficulties. Even though there is a *semantic component* there is a very rigid distinction between *linguistic semantics* and *natural semantics*, between the *dictionary* and the *encyclopaedia* (Katz and Fodor, 1964 p. 479-510). What is more, there is a fundamental difference between (universal) *competence* and (individual) *performance* (Chomsky, 1965) which rules out the possibility of studying individual literary styles. Ohman bases his entire analysis on an earlier and very short-lived belief that transformations are meaning-preserving. Practically nobody holds this view today, except generative semanticists, who, on the contrary, do not accept the existence of a syntactic deep structure at all.

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British linguists, notably Firth, do indeed talk of *contexts* and *Situations* but they do not forget the essential difference between general *types* and individual *tokens*. Zellig S. Harris (1952) talked of *discourse analysis* but his analysis is confined to the distributional properties of sentences in a text. However, everybody knows that Harris' aversion to meaning is final and irrevocable. The European school of "Textlinguistics comprising Van Dijk (1978), Reiser (Petofi and Reiser, 1973), Petofi (1975), Enkvist (1978), Dressler, Kummer and their associates do indeed talk of texts but their inclination is very much for formal semantics and they seem to be moving towards a theory of Artificial Intelligence.

When linguists have realized the limitations of their methods, they have done exceedingly well but when they have not, they have lapsed into the most amusing errors. A. A. Hill (1955) makes a penetrating analysis of some of the poems of Wordsworth and Hopekins but at a crucial juncture he reveals at what price his success is bought. "Upto this point I have concerned myself with matters of stress and word order; now I shall discuss broader structural problems. I shall therefore sound more like literary critic and less like a linguist." (Hill, 1955 p. 972). The linguistic-stylistician has all but given himself away. Halliday, too, clearly concedes that there is a point at which the literary critic must take over from the linguist (Halliday, 1971).

On the other hand the grand old man of linguistics, Roman Jakobson (1967 p. 322) fearlessly claims, "the linguist whose field is any kind of language may and must include poetry in his study." Not surprisingly he pays dearly for his *hubris*. Consider Jakobson and Levi Strauss' (1962 p. 5-21) detailed examination of Baudlaire's sonnet "Les Chats." Among other things they base their analysis on what they call a sexual ambiguity. The analysis rests on their discovery that there is a kind of androgyny—*feminine* words in a *masculine* rhyme.

However ingenious their analysis it will not pay to forget, as indeed Michael Riffaterre (1966 p. 188-230) reminds us that *feminine* gender and *masculine* rhyme are terms in grammar and rhetoric respectively and they do not necessarily carry the cultural and aesthetic connotations that the terms *masculine* and *feminine* carry. So what

we have is an extremely interesting but an equally irrelevant analysis.

This is not of course to imply that language-consciousness has no role to play in the description and evaluation of literary style. Far from it; analysis of linguistic structures plays a very significant role but for all that, the linguist if he is to succeed he must learn to go beyond his trade and learn to breathe the free air of aesthetics and morality and cultural and literary traditions before he can understand the full significance of his discoveries. Finally the linguist must remember that he is a descriptive scientist; he must handover his analysis to the literary critic when judgements and evaluations are called for, as indeed they are called for, the New Critics notwithstanding, at every juncture of literary criticism.

NOTES

1. "Discours Sur le Style" An address delivered before the French Academy by Comte de Buffon, translated by Lane Cooper in Cooper (1968 p. 170-179).
2. "Style in this sense is more easily recognized than analysed, more easily caught in an impressionistic phrase than revealed in detailed grammatically or statistically described complexity..." Turner (1973 p. 23).

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SECTION-II

History and Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology

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|----------------|---|
| Devendra Handa | .. The Republics and the Foreign Invaders in Haryana. |
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THE REPUBLICS AND THE FOREIGN INVADERS IN HARYANA

Devendra Handa

The republics in India are generally regarded as post-monarchical and post-tribal later Vedic institutions.¹ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*² mentions the various forms of constitutions like *Sāmrājya*, *Bhaujya*, *Svarājya*, *Vairājya* and *Rājya* of which the penultimate term has been taken to connote a real democratic constitution.³ Democracy, we learn from the same *Brāhmaṇa*⁴, was popular by the side of the *Himālayas* and the *Uttara Kurus* and *Uttara Madras* have been cited by way of examples of the *Janapadas* as observing this constitution :

एतेन च व्युच्येनैतेन त यजुषैताभिश्च व्याहृतभिर्वैराज्याय
तस्मादेतस्यामुदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा
उत्तरकुरव उत्तरभद्रा इति वैराज्यामैव तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते ।

Incidentally, it is here that we find for the first time the usage of the term *Janapada* which though literally meaning 'an inhabited country',⁵ was also used in the sense of 'a community or people of a particular geographical and cultural unity'.⁶ Purporting both the people and the country⁷, the word *Janapada* is also found on the coins and seals of some of the republican tribes. Another technical term for the republic is *gaṇa*⁸ which too occurs on coins and sigils. Pāṇini mentions various *janapadas*⁹ and also uses the term '*Saṅgha*', technically known as *gaṇa*¹⁰, as connoting a republic. All these terms are found used copiously in the sense of republics in later literature also.¹¹

The *Janas*, which were mobile communities having well-knit organisations with pastoral economy in the *Rgveda*, seem to have grown larger and sedentary subsequently. Some of the *Janas* evolved singly or coalesced with others, perished in feuds or vanished in course of time. It is well known that the *Rgvedic* Aryans were settled in the land of the *Sapta Sindhu* which also comprised the holy region of Haryana. The *Purus* and the *Bharatas*, two important *Janas* of the *Rgveda*¹², merged in the great complex of people known as the *Kurus*. These *Kurus* may

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have branched off from their parent body, probably the Uttara Kurus, located in the Himālayas¹³, and spread as far as the valley of the Yamunā.¹⁴ The Kurus ultimately evolved into a powerful tribe and are enumerated as one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* in the time of Buddha who himself is said to have visited it.¹⁵ The Kurus probably adopted a republican constitution some time after Buddha but before Kauṭilya.¹⁶

The kingdom of the Kurus was known to Pāṇini.¹⁷ He also mentions Hastināpura¹⁸ which was its capital.¹⁹ The Kuru kingdom comprised the region forming part of the triangle of Thanesar, Hisar and Hastināpura and was distinguished by three different names : (1) Kuru-rāṣṭra proper between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with its capital at Hastināpura, (2) Kuru-jāṅgala equal to Rohtak, Hansi and Hisar, and (3) Kurukṣetra with its centre at Thanesar (Kurukshetra), Kaithal and Karnal.²⁰ The *Kāśikā* (7th century A.D.) preserved the memory of all these three distinct geographical units.²¹ The great epic *Mahābhārata* is a record of the ascendancy of the Kurus. The Sālvas on the east and north-east²², the Pāñcālas to their east between the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā with their metropolis at Ahicchatrā, the Śūrasenas to their south round about Mathurā, the Matsyas in the south-west with their capital at Bairat near Jaipur etc. were their important neighbours. Pāṇini also mentions among others, the republics of the Yaudheyas (IV. I, 178 and V. 3, 117), Agras (IV. 1, 99 and 102), Rājanyas (IV. 2, 53 and V. 3114), Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi (VI 2, 34), Kṣudrakas (IV. 2, 45) and Ārjunāyanas (IV. 2, 53) which probably had some connection with Haryana later. Pāṇini's Kuluna²³ may be the same as Kulinda and Kuṇinda²⁴ whose coins have been recovered from parts of Haryana. Another republican tribe, the Mālava, has not been mentioned directly by Pāṇini but seems to have been implied in the *sūtra* IV. i, 68 as explained by Patañjali.

At the time of Alexander's invasion, the whole of north western India was occupied by small kingdoms, hyparchies and republics.²⁵ Some of these small republics like the Kathaians (Kaṭhas), Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas), Malloi (Malavas), Siboi (Śibis), Agalassoi (Agras) etc. gave him a very stiff resistance. Though brave warriors yet the people of these tribes were no match to the large and powerful Macedonian force and had, in certain cases, to pay a very heavy price for their freedom.

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When Alexander reached the Hyphasis (i.e. the river Beas), he heard that beyond this river the country was "exceedingly fertile and the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war and living under an excellent system of internal government; for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation."²⁶ It has rightly been pointed out that the description tallies with Kauṭilya's *Vārtiāśāstropajivinaḥ*.²⁷ This unnamed state on the Beas has been identified with the Yaudheya republic.²⁸ Whatsoever may have been the reasons, Alexander did not exchange swords with this unnamed republic and retreated. The only permanent effect of Alexander's raid seems to have been the establishment of a number of foreign settlements in north-west India. By crushing the petty states of north-west India, however, he indirectly paved the way for the Mauryas to annex them to their empire.²⁹

Soon after Alexander's invasion, the Mauryas extended their sway from south India to Persia. As a result of the Mauryan policy which seems to have been beautifully enunciated by Kauṭilya,³⁰ the weaker republics succumbed completely but the stronger ones enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Kauṭilya refers to two types of *Saṅghas*; those whose Consuls bore the title of Rājā, 'King' and those who did not allow it :

काम्बोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्चेत्यादयो वात्तशिख्रोपजीविनः ।

लिच्छविकबृजिकमल्लक-मद्रककुर्कुरुपाञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः ।³¹

The Kurus who were monarchical in the time of the Buddha had adopted a republican constitution some time before Kauṭilya. But they seem to have succumbed as a state subsequently. But for the memories of the Kurus preserved in the later literature, we have no evidence of the existence of their state in the later period. Recently, a coin in the Indian Museum, Calcutta³² bearing the Brāhmā legend '*Kavirasa Jaya...*', assignable to C. 100 B.C., has been attributed by a scholar to the Kurus of Ahikṣetra.³³ There is, however, nothing to commend such an attribution.

The Mauryan power shows marked decline after Aśoka. In 206 B.C., Antiochus III renewed his alliance with Sophagasenos 'the King of the Indians'. Who this Sophagasenos was and whether this contact was the result of a friendly relationship or a hostile one are debatable points.³⁴ One thing is, however, evident that the aliens settled

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in north-west India now began menacing the empire. The copious numismatic data also indicate that many of the Mauryan provinces became independent.³⁵

A class of coins bearing the legend *Kāḍasa* in early Brāhmī characters assignable to the third or early second century B.C.,³⁶ probably belonging to Punjab-Haryana region, is known to us. One Kāḍa coin has been obtained from Sugh (ancient Srughna) near Jagadhari in Haryana.³⁷ An attempt has recently been made to assign these coins to the Kaṭha tribe, the Kathaiois of the Greek historians, located between the Hydroates (Ravi) and the Hyphasis (Beas), which gave a stiff resistance to Alexander who ultimately overcame them with the help of Porus.³⁸ Though the attribution of the coins to the Kaṭhas is not beyond doubt³⁹ yet they do indicate the existence of an independent state, in the present Haryana region, not long after Aśoka.

In about 184 B.C., the Mauryan emperor Brhadratha was assassinated by his general Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. His dominions extended to the river Narmadā. According to the *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranath, it included Jālandhara and Śākala (Sialkot, now in Pakistan) also.⁴⁰ At the later place, he is said to have announced a reward of one hundred *dināras* for killing one Buddhist monk. It has, however, been rightly observed that "In view of the fact that religious persecution in India was an exception rather than the rule and keeping in mind the tendency of the Buddhist writers to distort facts and invent imaginary accounts of the evil deeds of non-Buddhists—even Aśoka has not been spared—we cannot give the same credence to these accounts. . . ."⁴¹ Śākala, in all probability, was then occupied by the Bactrian Greeks. Puṣyamitra seems to have continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. He is credited with the performance of two horse-sacrifices,⁴² the second of which must have been performed towards the close of his reign as his grandson Vasumitra, who guarded the horse, was a grown-up youth at that time.⁴³ The horse was seized by the Greeks and Vasumitra had to fight against them on the right (or southern) bank of the river Sindhu⁴⁴ to bring back the sacrificial horse. Puṣyamitra ruled upto 148 B.C.⁴⁵ Patañjali is usually regarded as his contemporary. As examples of the use of the imperfect tense, he states : अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम् and अरुणद्यवनो माध्यमिकाम्.⁴⁶ These instances show that some Yavana (i.e. Greek) Chiefs had besieged Sāketa (Ayodhya) and Mādhyamikā (i.e. Nagari near Chittor in Rajasthan) when Patañjali wrote this. Since Sāketa and Mādhyamikā are located

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in different directions from Mathurā (which was the meeting point of different routes) it is likely that the invaders may have been two different persons. There is, however, considerable divergence of opinion regarding the identity of the invader/s but it is generally agreed that the invader/s could be none else than the Bactrian Greeks.⁴⁷ It is, however, certain that the Greeks could not reach Sāketa and Mādhyamitrā without having overrun Haryana.

Strabo attributes the Indian conquests to Menander and Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-in-law of Antiochos the Great.⁴⁸ Justin also describes the latter as the "King of Indians".⁴⁹ The wide extent of his conquests is indicated by the existence of several cities named Dattāmitrī after him or 'Euthydemia' after his father in Afghanistan and India.⁵⁰ It is, however, notable that his coins have not been found from anywhere in India, to say the least from Haryana. Menander has been identified with king Milinda of *Malinda Pañho*, a Buddhist work, wherein he is described as having been converted to Buddhism by *Thera Nāgasena*.⁵¹ The *Avadāna-Kalpa-latā* of Kṣemendra also corroborates it.⁵² Menander had his capital at Śākala, i.e. modern Sialkot. His coins have been found from Begram (near Kabul) to Mathurā.⁵³ These small silver hemidrachms seem to have been very popular and probably continued to be circulated for a long time and over a large territory. From Haryana, his coins were obtained from Karnal by Dr. Swiney⁵⁴ in 1858, by Rodgers⁵⁵ at Ambala, Jagadhari and Sadhaura about a century back and have recently been recovered from Sugh⁵⁶ and Rohtak.⁵⁷ Goldsucker, Smith and many other scholars had identified the Greek invader with Menander.⁵⁸ Numerous coin-moulds of the Indo-Greek rulers recovered from Punjab and Haryana in the recent years also indicate the popularity of Indo-Greek coins in the region. The other early Indo-Greek king whose coins have been found in Punjab, Haryana and the adjoining region of Rajasthan is Apollodotus. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* also tells us that his rule extended over the region from Kapisa and Gandhāra, along the western and southern side of the Punjab, to Sind and probably even beyond upto Barygaza (Broach).⁵⁹ Tarn suggested that it was under Demetrius that Menander and Apollodotus advanced into the interior of India along either side of the Indian desert : Menander to Pāṭaliputra and Appollo-dotus southward (at first southwestward) down the Indus to its mouth and whatever might lie beyond.⁶⁰ There seems to have been some substance in the observation that "Demetrius was the Chief guiding

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factor in the enterprise, and was helped by the other two who at first acted as his sub-kings in India but later succeeded to the different parts of his extensive Indian conquest."⁶¹

The chronology, sequence and relationships of about forty Indo-Greek kings is very controversial.⁶² Evidently, most of them did not rule in Haryana. Even all those whose coins have been obtained from the region, may have not ruled here. Nevertheless, the great popularity of their money and the influence they exerted on indigenous coinage do indicate that the successors of Apollodotus and Menander must have held direct or indirect influence over our area for some time at least. Antialcidas (C. 145-135 B.C.) may have been the last Indo-Greek ruler to have any effective influence over the region. The emergence of tribal coinages, some time during the third quarter of the second century B. C. however, furnishes evidence that the alien influence in Haryana did not last long. After the death of Strato I in about 110 B.C., the provinces situated to the east of the Indus became independent under Apollodotus II while the region to its west came under the sway of Philoxenos and Diomedas. Nevertheless, stray finds of the coins of Philoxenos (C. 110-80 B. C.), Theophilos (C. 80-60 B. C.), Amyntas (C. 60-40 B.C.), Hermaeus (C. 40-0 B. C.) etc.⁶³ from Haryana who all ruled west of the Indus indicate some sort of indirect contact of the indigenous states with the foreigners. The region east of the Indus formed the dominion of Apollodotus II (C. 110-80 B.C.), Hippostratos (C. 80-60 B. C.), Telephos and Dionysios (C. 80-75 B. C.), Zoilos II (C. 75-50 B. C.), Appollophanes (C. 50-40 B. C.), Strato I and II (C. 40-15 B. C.) whence it passed on to Bhadrayaśa (C. 15-10 B.C.).⁶⁴ By about the time of Apollodotus II, the Indo-Scythian king Maues was already ruling certain para-Indus provinces which once formed part of the former's dominions. The most easterly province of Appollodotus II, Jammu, however, remained in Greek hands until it was wrested from them by Rajuvula, a Satrap of Azes II.⁶⁵ The increasing power and influence of the Scythian satraps towards the close of Azes II's reign is attested by coinage as well as inscriptions. Rajuvula became a Mahākṣatrapa and extended his sway upto Mathurā.⁶⁶ Haryana naturally formed part of his dominions. He ruled between 10 B. C. to 10 A.D. and was succeeded by Śoḍāsa who had served as a Kṣatrapa during C. 1-10 A.D. Amohini inscription of the year 72 (15 A.D.) refers to Śoḍāsa as a Mahākṣatrapa.⁶⁷

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The Scythian ruler suffered at the hand of two conquerors. Kujula Kadphises, the Kuṣāṇa, who came from Gandhāra and Gondo-phares, the Indo-Parthian, who expanded his kingdom from southern Afghanistan. Large finds of the latter's coins from Punjab and Haryana⁶⁸ indicate that he succeeded in wresting this whole region from the satraps of Mathurā. He probably ruled between 20 and 46 A.D.

Kujula Kadphises crossed the river Indus and conquered Chach from Zeionises and Kharahostes. The nameless king Soter Megas⁶⁹, who seems to have followed, probably gave a severe blow to the Indo-Parthian power. Coins of Soter Megas are found over a very wide area which includes Haryana. Soter Megas laid the firm foundation of the Kuṣāṇa rule here as we find the region being ruled over by Wima Kadphises, Kaniṣka and his successors. Abundance of their coins and the influence they exerted on subsequent tribal coinages well indicate the prosperity and socio-cultural strides taken during the Kuṣāṇa period.

When did the Kuṣāṇa rule end in Haryana? The question cannot be answered with certitudinous specificity but the discovery of a coin of king Yajñajita from Rājā-Karṇa-Kā-Kilā (near Kurukshetra)⁷⁰ and of a king Baladatta from Theh Polar palaeographically assignable to C. second-third century A.D.,⁷¹ taken alongwith the evidence of the Vṛṣṇi coins from Punjab, indicates that the Kuṣāṇa rule terminated from the region sometime during the first half of the third century A.D., probably about 235-240 A.D.⁷² The reappearance of the tribal coins of the Yaudheyas in the third century A.D. in Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and western U.P. adopting the Kuṣāṇa module indicates that they had only temporarily been suppressed. The Yaudheyas continued to rule upto the time of the Imperial Guptas. They seem to have been over-run by the Hūṇas towards the close of the fifth century A.D. These foreign 'barbarians' probably held sway over Haryana till it came under the Puṣpabhūti in the later half of the sixth century A.D.

Now we take up the republics which flourished in Haryana during this period.

Of the various republics, the Yaudheyas, the Agras and the Kuṇindas were spatially related to Haryana and the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, Rājanyas, Śibis and Vṛṣṇis had temporal, circumstantial or peripheral nexus. The Sālvas, too, were connected with this region but the specific form of their government is not known to us.

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The Yaudheyas

The Yaudheyas occupy a very prominent position in the galaxy of ancient Indian republican tribes.⁷³ The earliest reference to their existence occurs in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁷⁴ and *Gaṇapāṭha*.⁷⁵ The latter work mentions them as an *āyudhajivī saṅgha*, i.e., a tribe living by the profession of arms. We have already referred to the fact that at the time of Alexander's invasion, the country beyond the Beas was occupied by a tribe which has been identified by some scholars with the Yaudheyas. Whatsoever were the reasons, Alexander did not exchange swords with this tribe.⁷⁶ The Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman of the year 72 (=A.D. 150) also alludes to the power and prestige of the Yaudheyas even though they were vanquished by the Śaka Śatrap. The importance of the Yaudheya military commanders is indicated by the Bijaygadh inscription⁷⁷ and clay sealings found from Rohtak⁷⁸ and Agroha.⁷⁹

The Yaudheyas find mention in the *Mahābhārata*⁸⁰ also. Some scholars are inclined to trace their descent from Yaudhiṣṭhira⁸¹ but the fact that they fought against the Pāṇḍavas and paid homage to Yudhiṣṭhira⁸² at the time of his *Rājasūya* goes against this view.⁸² The Yaudheyas have also been mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*,⁸³ *Mahāmāy-ūrī*⁸⁴, *Brhatsamhitā*⁸⁵, *Purāṇas*⁸⁶, *Cāndravyākaraṇa*⁸⁷, *Kāśikā*⁸⁸ and the medieval works like the *Yaśastilaka*,⁸⁹ *Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharṇa*,⁹⁰ *Vaijayantikośa*⁹¹ etc. These literary references indicate a chronological span extending from the fifth century B.C. to *circa* twelfth century A.D. for the life history of the tribe. They, however, seem to have lost political significance after their defeat at the hands of Samudragupta in the fourth century A.D.⁹² During the long span of their existence, however, they experienced vicissitudes of fortune. But for an interregnum during the first-second century A.D. of the Scythian supremacy; the Yaudheyas were probably at the height of their power and glory during the period extending from *circa* second century B.C. to about the early fourth century A.D., when they struck their coins also.

The first Yaudheya coins were recovered in 1834 by Captain Cautley from Behat near Saharanpur (U.P.).⁹³ These coins were described and illustrated by Prinsep in 1858.⁹⁴ Then Alexander Cunningham obtained large number of Yaudheya coins "to the west of the Sutlej, in Depalpur, Satgarha, Ajudhan, Kahrur, and Multan, and to the eastward in Bhatner, Abhor, Sirsa, Hansi, Panipat and

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Sonpat⁹⁵ as well as many other places as far north as Kangra⁹⁶. Rodgers procured similar coins at Kharkhauda and Hansi.⁹⁷ Prayag Dayal reported the discovery of a hoard of 164 copper coins unearthed in 1936 at Panjya, Khat Bana in Jaunsar Bawar, Tahsil Chakrata, district Dehra Dun (U.P.).⁹⁸ In 1938-39, a hoard of Yaudheya coins came to light from Jaijaivanti near Jind (Haryana).⁹⁹ A hoard was discovered near Lansdowne in district Garhwal (U.P.) also but only 119 copper coins could be recovered from it.¹⁰⁰ Hoards and stray discoveries are known from a number of sites which include Sunet (Punjab), Naurangabad-Bamla, Hisar, Bhiwani, Dadri, Malhana, Sidipur-lova, Atayal, Anwali, Meham, Mohanbari, Karauntha,¹⁰¹ Baghaura,¹⁰² Assandh¹⁰³ etc. in Haryana; Meerut, Hapur etc. in U.P.¹⁰⁴ and Sambhar, Rangmahal, Pallu,¹⁰⁵ Pandusar, Dhanasia etc.¹⁰⁶ in Rajasthan. Some interesting Yaudheya coins exist in private collections also. Yaudheya seals and sealings have been recovered from Sunet, Agroha, Naurangabad etc.¹⁰⁷ and a very large number of Yaudheya coin-moulds are known from Khokrakot (Rohtak)¹⁰⁸ Naurangabad¹⁰⁹, Sunet¹¹⁰ and elsewhere.¹¹¹

The Yaudheyas issued silver, copper and potins coins. On the basis of devices and symbols they have been divided into six classes by Allan.¹¹² He assigns the following dates for these different classes—

Classes I, II and V : 2nd-1st century B.C.

III & IV : 2nd century A.D.

VI : 3rd-4th century A.D.

There is, however, no plausible ground to attribute the small round, uninscribed and slightly scyphate potin and copper coins of class I (Vars. A-E) to the Yaudheyas but for the fact that they were found with some definitely attributable Yaudheya coins.¹¹³ Similarly, coins of the Var. E of this class bearing the legend *maharajasa* cannot be attributed to the Yaudheyas.¹¹⁴ Coins of Class IV giving the names of Bhānuva¹¹⁵ (and Rāvaṇa)¹¹⁶ also do not seem to belong to the Yaudheyas as the Yaudheyas are known to have remained republican upto the time of Samudragupta.¹¹⁷ Coin of Class V of Allan is only a variety of his class II¹¹⁸. Bajpai is thus of the opinion that Yaudheya coins should be divided broadly into three main classes only,¹¹⁹ viz.,

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- Class I Vṛṣa-Gaja Type : 2nd-1st century B.C.
 II Ṣaṇmukha-Kārttikeya Type : 1st-2nd century A.D.
 III Kārttikeya-Devasenā Type : End of 2nd to mid 4th century A.D.

Mitchiner assigns these coins to 150/100 B.C. and late second-first century B.C. respectively.¹²⁰

Vṛṣa-Gaja type shows bull to right before a sacrificial post and the Brāhmī legend 'Yaudheyānām Bahudhāñake' on the obverse and elephant to right with some subsidiary symmol/s on the reverse. Coin-moulds of these coins had been found in large numbers by Sahni in 1936 from Khokrakot near Rohtak.¹²¹ Bahudhānyaka is mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* also.¹²² The *Mahābhārata* also mentions it in the contest of Nakula's *digvijaya*—

ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाश्चघनधान्यवत् ।

कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥

तत्र युद्धं महद्वृत्तं शूरैर्मन्तमयूरकैः ।¹²³

The appearance of Kārttikeya on the coins of Ṣaṇmukha-Kārttikeya type (class II) is also significant. These coins have been issued in silver as well as copper. The obverse shows six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, holding spear in the right hand and resting the left on hip with the Brāhmī legend *Bhagavatasvāmīno Brahmanya Yaudheya* or *Bhagavatasvāmīno Brahmanya devasya Kumārasya*¹²⁴. The reverse shows goddess (six headed Ṣaṣṭhī or Devasenā) with deer and some other symbols. These coins seem to have been issued to commemorate the deity to whose grace the Yaudheyas attributed their independence.¹²⁵ Coins of the last class are all in copper and round in shape. They bear on obverse Kārttikeya standing facing holding spear in right hand, left hand on hip, peacock to left at his left foot and the Brāhmī legend around : *Yaudheya gaṇasya jaya*. The reverse shows (unicephalous) Devasenā walking to left with right hand raised and left akimbo in a border of dots. Besides the above mentioned variety, two other varieties show the words *dvi* and *tri* appended to the legend and a set of *Kalāśa* and *nandipada* and conch and *nāgamudrā* flanking the female deity on the reverse.¹²⁶ These coins have been very controversial. Considering the Johiyas of Bahawalpur as the descendants of the Yaudheyas, Cunningham had suggested that like the three-fold divisions of the Johiyas, viz., Lankavira, Madhera and

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Admera, the Yaudheyas were similarly divided into three classes or sections and the words *dvi* and *tri* i.e., *dvitiya* and *tritiya* of the coins refer to the second and third divisions of the tribe.¹²⁷ Citing the example of a modern tribe in the Chumbi Valley, Smith suggested that the Yaudheyas may have been similarly divided into three sections each of which in turn elected the tribal chiefs.¹²⁸ Altekar regarded the words *dvi* and *tri* as suggestive of the Yaudheyas' confederacy with the Ārjunāyanas and Kuṇindas.¹²⁹ Swami Omanand Sarasvati holds that the coins under consideration were issued after second and third victory of the Yaudheyas,¹³⁰ while Jai Prakash Singh is of the view that they belong to second and third mints of the Yaudheyas.¹³¹ Coin-moulds discovered from Sunet show that all these varieties were minted at Sunet simultaneously indicating that coins belonged to the geographico-administrative units rather than anything else.¹³²

P. L. Gupta has distinguished the coins of these three classes and assigned them to three distinct regions observing that the Yaudheyas were a migratory tribe and did not occupy the entire area indicated by the find-spots of their coins at any one period.¹³³ He assigns the Bull-Elephant type to Haryana region comprising Rohtak, Sirsa, Karnal, Gurgaon etc., the Ṣaṇmukha-Kārttikeya type (connected in style and type with the coinage of the Kuṇindas) to the territory of the Kuṇindas which they might have captured or in its neighbourhood and the sectional coins when they moved to the west and occupied the territory between the Beas and the Yamunā. The provenance of the different types does indicate that they did not occupy the vast territory from Kangra to western U. P. and the desert of Rajasthan at any one time but the Rohtak-Jagadhari region seems to have been the nucleus area as it has yielded all the three types.

After their defeat at the hands of Samudragupta, the Yaudheyas seem to have been vanquished by the Hūṇas. They probably lost all political importance but their reminiscences in later literature indicate the popularity and importance which they enjoyed for about a thousand years from the time of Pāṇini to the advent of the Hūṇas.

The Agras

The Agras find their first mention in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which also refers to Āgrāyana, a derivative form of Agra.¹³⁴ Āgrāyana is also referred to by Yāska,¹³⁵ Baudhāyana¹³⁶ and Patañjali.¹³⁷ A tribe

called Āgreya evidently derived from Agra, has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in association with some other tribes like the Bhadrās, Rohitakas and Mālavas.¹³⁸

The Agras are known from their coins which carry the name of the tribe as Agāca. The first Agāca coin was published by Prinsep in 1858.¹³⁹ After a gap of slightly less than half a century, Smith brought to light some coins which may be attributed to the Agāca tribe.¹⁴⁰ In 1936, Allan published nine coins in the cabinet of the British Museum.¹⁴¹ It was Allan who for the first time made out the Brāhmī legend *Agodaka (Ja) na padasa* on a coin and attributed that to the thitherto unknown tribe of the Agodakas.¹⁴² On others, procured by Rodgers at Barwala near Hisar, he described the legend as *agodaka agāca-janapadasa* and *agācamitapadābhiṣ(c) ya*.¹⁴³ His identification of the Agāca tribe with the *Oxydrakai* of the Greek and Sanskrit *agastya*,¹⁴⁴ however, was not correct. Barnett derived Agāca (Prakrit) from Agrātya (Sanskrit) which he took to mean 'the people of Agra'.¹⁴⁵ P. L. Gupta thinks that Agāca is the Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit Āgreya.¹⁴⁶ Dasgupta regards Gupta's suggestion as untenable and like Barnett he derives Agāca from Agrātya (the name of a country) which in its turn is derived from the name of the tribe Agra.¹⁴⁷

Agodaka could be easily equated with Agrodaka, a place mentioned twice in the *Mahāmāyūrī*,¹⁴⁸ identified with modern Agroha by Przyluski as early as 1926.¹⁴⁹ Agroha was an important town in ancient times and lay on the trade route which connected the Gaṅgā valley with Takṣaśilā.¹⁵⁰

Excavations carried out at Agroha by H. L. Srivastava during 1938-39 brought to light 51 more coins of the tribe leaving little doubt that Agodaka of the coins is Agrodaka, i.e., Agroha, the metropolis of the Agra tribe.¹⁵¹ In 1946, Nagar published an Agāca coin obtained from Katra Keshav Dev, Mathurā.¹⁵² The history and coinage of the Agras have been studied systematically by Dasgupta¹⁵³ and Mitchiner.¹⁵⁴ One coin has been published by us from Pandusar in district Ganganagar of Rajasthan.¹⁵⁵ Swami Omanand Saraswati claims to have recovered a very large number of Agāca coins from the mound of Agroha¹⁵⁶ but they still await publication. Agroha has been excavated by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana during 1979-85 and good many coins of the tribe have been recovered.¹⁵⁷

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All the Agāca coins known so far are made of copper and are rectangular/square and round in shape. They bear the legend only in Brāhmī on one or both sides and invariably show tree-in-railing on the obverse. On the basis of the reverse devices, they have been classified into the following four types.—¹⁵⁸

- I Bull Type
- II Lion Type
- III Composite-Animal Type
- IV Lakṣmī Type

They contain the legend *Agodaka Agāca-Janapadāsa* or *Agācamitr-
apadābhiṣ(ṭh)āy(i)n(āṁ)*. The latter has been a subject of controversy. Taking *mitrapada* as connoting 'the Allied State', Barnett interpreted the complete legend as "(coin) of the rulers (or ruler) of the Allied State of the Aggāchas, i.e., Agāchas".¹⁵⁹ P. L. Gupta also seems to accept the view.¹⁶⁰ Sircar accepts the reading as proposed by Barnett but takes the term 'Agācamitra', as meaning 'the friend of the Agrātyas', i.e., the tutelary deity of the Agrātyas of Agrodaka and suggests that the coins in question were issued by the Agrātyas indirectly in the name of their tutelary deity representing themselves as the devotees of the god Agrātyamitra of Agrodaka.¹⁶¹ Dasgupta has, however, objected to this interpretation for Agrātyamitra as the name of a god is not known from any other source and there is no representation of any such god on the coins of this tribe.¹⁶² He is, thus, inclined to accept Barnett's interpretation and suggests that "there was a confederacy consisting of the Agras, Rājanyas, Vṛishṇis and the Malloi Mālavas" in which "the position of the Agras was a dominant one as shown by the exclusive mention of their name in the coin-legend *Agācamitr-
apadābhiṣ(ṭh)āy(i)n(āṁ)* (or *shṭhāyinaḥ*)".¹⁶³ It is strange that the Agras formed a confederacy with distant Rājanyas, Vṛishṇis and Mālavas without their nextdoor neighbours, the Yaudheyas. The untenability of Desgupta's view has been shown by us elsewhere.¹⁶⁴

The Agras are generally identified with the *Agalassoi* of the Greek historians who had mustered an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horses for their fight against Alexander.¹⁶⁵ In their attack on the city of *Agalassoi*, many Macedonians were killed. When, however, the *Agalassoi* could not resist the Greeks, they burnt their houses and killed their women and children. The *Agalassoi* were the neighbours

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of the *Siboi*, the Śibis, another tribe which later moved to Rajasthan from their original habitat below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab.¹⁶⁶ The Agras, too, many have shifted from their original home after their defeat and settled at and around Agroha in Haryana.

Agra coins are generally assigned to second-first century B.C.¹⁶⁷

The *Cāndravyākaraṇa*,¹⁶⁸ *Kāśikā*¹⁶⁹ and the *Sarasvatikaṇṭhā-bharaṇa*¹⁷⁰ refer to the Agras. It is generally believed that they left Agroha in the twelfth century A.D. after Muhammad Ghori's attack and spread in different parts of the country.¹⁷¹ The present day Agrawals derive their descent from king Agrasena, the founder of Agrodaka.

The Kuṇindas

The *Mahābhārata* mentions Kuṇindas (variant Kulindas) on several occasions.¹⁷² The *Bṛhatsamhitā*¹⁷³ places them with the people of Kashmir, Kulu and Sirhind. Kuṇindas find numerous references in the *Purāṇas*¹⁷⁴ also. Ptolemy alludes to *Kulindrene*¹⁷⁵, a country of Kulindas perhaps. Cunningham held that the Kuṇindas "occupied the hill districts on both sides of the Sutlej from time immemorial."¹⁷⁶

The Kuṇindas are described in the Great Epic to have sent lumps of *paipīlaka* gold (i.e., ant-gold) along with other people to king Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of his *rājāsūya*.¹⁷⁷ *Mahāmāyūrī* refers to Kulinda as a place presided over by *Yakṣa Uṣṭrapāda*.¹⁷⁸

The Kuṇindas issued coins in silver and copper. They are all round in shape.¹⁷⁹ The silver coins are beautiful specimens of the art of die-cutting of those days. They bear legends on both side in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts. The latter is absent or sparingly used on copper coins. Some copper coins which are of a later date show degeneration.¹⁸⁰ The early coins, both in silver and copper, show Lakṣmī and deer on the obverse with some subsidiary symbols and the Brāhmī legend *Rājñah Kuṇindasya Amoghabhūtisya Mahārārasa* and the reverse contains the same legend in Kharoṣṭhī and a combination of symbols like fylfot, tree, triangle-headed staff, six-arched hill surmounted by an umbrella and a wavy line below.¹⁸¹ The legend may variously be interpreted as : 'of king Amoghabhūti, the Kuṇinda king', or '(coin) of Amoghabhūt Mahārāja' rājā (king), the Kuṇinda (or of Kuṇinda)', or 'of Amoghabhūti, the Mahārāja (or chief) of the Kuṇinda kings' etc.

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Another type of coins, only in copper and of a later period, seem to have been issued in the name of Catreśvara (Śiva). They carry on the obverse the figure of the god holding trident with axe and the Brāhmī legend *Bhagavata Catreśvara Mahātmnaḥ*, i.e., coin of the Almighty Catreśvara. The reverse shows a combination of symbols.¹⁸²

Coins of the neat fabric have been assigned to *circa* second-first century B.C. whereas others are regarded as two or three centuries later.¹⁸³ Thus the coinage indicates that the Kuṇindas had to yield to the mighty Kuṣāṇas but rose again and asserted their independence when the alien power showed symptoms of decline.

Since the first discovery at Behat between Jagadhari and Saharanpur in 1837,¹⁸⁴ Kuṇinda coins have been found from Jwalamukhi¹⁸⁵ and Tappa Mewa¹⁸⁶ in Himachal Pradesh; Patiala,¹⁸⁷ Sunet,¹⁸⁸ Bahlolpur¹⁸⁹ and Ropar¹⁹⁰ in the Punjab; Karnal¹⁹¹, Jagadhari¹⁹², Sadhaura¹⁹³, Buria¹⁹⁴, Naraingarh¹⁹⁵, Pehowa¹⁹⁶, Ambala¹⁹⁷ etc. in Haryana and Simari, Bhattisera and Dewalgarh, all near Srinagar in Garhwal in U.P.¹⁹⁸ The find spots indicate that the Kuṇinda territory extended from Garhwal to Kangra in the hills and also comprised the plains of Punjab, western U.P. and Haryana. Cunningham¹⁹⁹ felt inclined to locate their capital at Sugh, ancient Srughna, near Jagadhari on the west bank of the old Yamunā as Kuṇinda coins have been discovered about Sugh and its neighbourhood in substantial numbers. Like the Yaudheyaṣ who were also eclipsed by the mighty Kuṣāṇas but fought for their independence, freedom-loving Kuṇindas too seem to have thrown away the yoke of alien rule during the second or third century A.D. Their sound economic condition is attested by their copious silver and copper currency. Their republican form of administration in which the consul bore the title of king is reflected by their coin-legends.²⁰⁰

Other Republics

The Kṣudrakas occupying Nohar area in the second century B.C.²⁰¹ and the *Ārjunāyanas*²⁰² occupying it subsequently must have remained the neighbours of the Agras. The former in their movement along with the Mālavas with which they had formed a confederation to fight against Alexander must have passed through Haryana. The Mālavas seem to have occupied Haryana for some time during their movement from Punjab to Rajasthan. The ancient site of Malab²⁰³ near Nuh is perhaps a relic of their occupation of this area. Similarly, the Rājanyas, too, must have passed through Haryana while on their way

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to Rajasthan from the Punjab. Similar must have been the case of the Śibis who were originally the neighbours of the Agras. Rājanya coins, too, show affinities which Agra coins.²⁰⁴ The Vṛṣṇis in the Pañcanada region, from near the Sarasvatī to the Sutlej,²⁰⁵ may have remained the northern neighbours of the Yaudheyas during second-first century B.C. The Sālvas extended from the Yamunā to the Ravi and some of their constituents like the Yagandharas, the Bodhas, Śaradaṇḍas etc. occupied parts of what is now Haryana.

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2. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 14. *Yajurveda* also mentions 'Virāṭ' (XV. II) and 'Svarāṭ' (XV. 13) and The *Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 3, 2, 2) refers to 'Svarājya'.
3. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78; Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
4. *Ajī Br.*, VIII, 14.
5. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1951, p. 410. cf. जनस्य लोकस्य पदमाश्रयस्थानं यत्र (*Śabdakalpdruma*).
6. Lallanji Gopal in *Seminar Papers On The Tribal Coins Of Ancient India*, Eds. Jai Prakash Singh & Nisar Ahmad, Varanasi, 1977, Foreword, p. ix.
7. *The Kautīliya Arthśāstra*, Part I, Ed. R. P. Kangle, Bombay, 1960, II. 1, p. 32.
8. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff.
9. V. S. Agrawal, *India As Known To Pāṇini*, Varanasi, 1963, 2nd ed., pp. 49-64
10. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, III. 3, 86 : संघोद्धो गण-प्रशंसयोः ।
11. See for details Jayaswal, *op. cit.*
12. In the *R̥gveda (RV)* (III. 23, 4-5) they are spoken of as kindling the sacred fire on the Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī rivers :
दूषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ।
13. Cf. G. P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, London, 1960, p. 641.
14. Buddha Prakash, *Political And Social Movements in Ancient Panjab*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1964, p. 79.
15. O. P. Bharadwaj, "Gautma Buddha In Kuruksetra", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXI (1980), pp. 189-204.
16. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
17. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 1, 172.
18. *Ibid.*, VI. 20, 101.
19. Pāṇini (*Ibid.* VIII. 2 12 & IV. 2, 86) also refers to Āsandivat (Literally meaning 'possessing the Throne') which was the royal city of the Kuru king Janamejaya Pārikṣit (*Vedic Index I. 72*). For "The Identification of Āsandivat"

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- with modern Assandh in Haryana see *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. III, pt. ii., pp. 278-81.
20. V. S. Agarwal, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. The Sālvās are generally regarded as occupying the territory round about modern Alwar but we have our reasons to locate them to the west and north of the Yamunā from near Jagadhari to Pathankot in the Haryana-Punjab region.
 23. *Gaṇapāṭha*, IV. 2, 133 and IV. 3, 93.
 24. V. S. Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
 25. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History Of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953, 6th ed., ed. pp. 244 ff.
 26. Arrian, B. K. V. 25. Also See J. W. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander The Great*, Westminster, 1896, 2nd ed., p. 121.
 27. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63.
 30. *Arthaśāstra* XI. 1, 1-3 : संघलाभो दण्डमित्रलाभानामुत्तमः । संघा हि संहत्वादधृष्यतः परेषाम् । ताननुगुणान् भञ्जीत सामदानाभ्याम्, विगुणान् भेददण्डाभ्याम् ।
 31. *Ibid.*, XI. 1, 4-5.
 32. *Indian Museum Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 205, No. 4. Pl. XXXIII. 8.
 33. Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek And Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol. 7, London, 1976, p. 643.
 34. See Romila Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Delhi, 1982, p. 190.
 35. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 379.
 36. John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, (Henceforth BMCAI), pp. xcii-iii and 145-46.
 37. Devendra Handa, *A New Variety Of Kāḍa Coins, Numismatic Digest*, (henceforth ND), Vol. VI, pp. 12 ff.
 38. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (JNSI)*, XL, pp. 9-12.
 39. Handa, *loc. cit.*
 40. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
 41. Prof. Jagannath in *A Comprehensive History Of India*, Vol. II (Ed. K. A. N. Shastri), Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, 1957, p. 99.
 42. “द्विस्वमेधयाजिनः सेनापतेः पुण्यमित्रस्य.....” “in the Ayodhyā Stone Inscription of Dhanadeva, *Select Inscriptions* (Ed. D. C. Sircar), Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, p. 96.
 43. Jagannath, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
 44. There is a controversy amongst the scholars regarding the identity of this river. Rapson thought it to be a tributary of the river Chambal or of the river Yamunā of this name (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 520) but R. C. Majumdar argued in favour of the Indus (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 214 ff.).
 45. Jagannath, *op. cit.*, p. 100. Raychaudhuri places him between 187 to 151 B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 378).
 46. *Mahābhāṣya* (Ed. F. Kielhorn), 3 Vols., Bombay, 1880-85, III. 2, 111 (Vol. II, p. 119).

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47. W. W. Tarn (*The Greeks In Bactria And India*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 140 ff.) suggested that Demetrius was helped by Apollodotus and Menander in his conquest of India.
48. Strabo, XI, 516.
49. Justin, XLI, 6, 4.
50. Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 247-48, 257, 486-87 etc.
51. T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions Of King Milinda*, Sacred Books of The East Series, Vol. 35 and 36.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. 36, p. XVII.
53. J. N. Banerjea in *A Comprehensive History Of India*, Vol. II, p. 174. cf. Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff.
54. James Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, (Ed. Edward Thomas), London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 24.
55. C. J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89*, List of the Coins, p. 1.
56. *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 44-45, pl. II. 9.
57. Swami Omanand Saraswati, *Ancient Mints Of Haryana*, Jhajjar, V. S. 2036 (henceforth *AMH*), pp. 55 ff.
58. As quoted by Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 383.
59. As quoted by Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 140 ff.
61. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.
62. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Cambridge, 1957.
63. We have followed here the chronology as given by Mitchiner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 183-85.
64. *Ibid.*, ch. 8.
65. Maues was followed by Azes I! (also associated with Azilises who was later associated with) Azes II, About c. 30 B.C., Azes II, was ruling independently.
66. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1929, No. XV, Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription).
67. J. M. Rosenfield, "The Mathura school of sculpture" in the *Papers On the date of Kanishka submitted to the 1960 London Conference* (Ed. A. L. Basham), London. 1968, pp. 259-77.
68. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
69. For identification, see D. W. Mac Dowall, "Soter Megas, the king of Kings, the Kushana", *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 1-21.
70. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey Of India*, 1930-34, pl. I, pp. 142-43.
71. *ND*, Vol. VII, pp. 22-23.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-21.
73. B. C. Law, *Tribes In Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, pp. 77-78, A. B. L. Awasthi, *Yaudheyom Kā Itibāsa*, Lucknow, 1961.
74. V. 3, 117.
75. IV. 1, 178 and V. 3, 117.
76. One reason may have been that the Macedonian soldiers were afraid of the (Yaudheya) warriors. See Mc Crindle, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
77. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (CII)* Vol. III, pp. 251 f.
78. Swami Omanand Saraswati, *Ancient Seals of Haryana*, Jhajjar, V. S. 2031 (henceforth *ASH*).

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79. *Ibid.* JNSI, XXXII, p. 157.
80. *Mbh.* (Gita Press ed), Ādi Parva 95, 76; Sabha Parva 52; 14-27; Droṇa Parva 18, 16; 132, 25; 136, 5; Karna Parva 4, 46 etc.
81. M. K. Sharan, *Tribal Coins—A Study*, N. Delhi 1972.
82. Prof. Jagannath Agrawal, "An Ancient Republic of the Punjab: The Yaudheya-gaṇa", *M. S. Randhawa Felicitation Volume*, Chandigarh, 1970, pp. 49-55. Their connection with the Central Asian Yautiyas as suggested by Buddha Prakash (*op. cit.*, p. 105) has also been generally rejected by scholars (K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal history of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1974, (henceforth *THAI*) pp. 228 ff; fn. 103)
83. IV. i, 117.
84. *Journal Asiatique (JA)*, 1915, pp 45 and 96-97.
85. IV. 25; V 40, 67, 75; XIV, 28; XVI. 22; XVIII. 19 etc.
86. *Mārkaṇḍeya* 58. 47; *Garuḍa* 55; 11 etc.
87. IV. 3, 93;
88. V. 3, 117;
89. K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśdstīlaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur, 1949; p. 395.
90. IV. 3, 154;
91. Bhūmikāṇḍa v. 28;
92. *CII*, III, pp. 8 and 14;
93. *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, III (1834), pl. XVIII. Also IV (1835), pl. XXXIV.
94. *PE*, pp. 84-85, pl. IV. 11-12 and XIX. 22.
95. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report (CASR)*. Vol. XIV, p. 140 and *Coins of Ancient India (CAI)*, pp 76 ff.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *BNCAI*, p cli, fn. 9.
98. *JNSI*, II, pp. 109-112.
99. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 138.
100. *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 46 f.
101. Bhagwan Deva Acharya, *Vira Bhūmi Haryāṇā* (Hindi), Jhajjar, 1965, pp, 131 ff.
102. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 101-02.
103. *Ibid.*, XL, pp. 94-95.
104. Acharya, *loc-cit.*
105. *THAI*, p. 196.
106. Devendra Handa, "Coins from Nohar Area" *Avagahana*. Sardarshahr Vol. I, No. 1, p. 86.
107. *ASH*, pp. 41 ff.
108. Birbal Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945.
109. *AMH*, pp. 25 ff.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 89 ff ; Sahni, *op. cit.*, pl. IV. 89-105; Devendra Handa, "The Bearing of the Yaudheya Coin-moulds from Sunet on Sectional Yaudheya Coins." *Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, XIV (2). Oct., 1984, pp. 3-9. Recently Sunet has been excavated by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Panjab and about 30,000 coin-moulds have been recovered from the site.

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111. E. g. Kauśāmbī in U.P., (*AMH*, p. 54). It is, however, doubtful that all these coin-moulds are the genuine Yaudheya relics.
112. *BMCAI*, pp. 265-78. Dasgupta (*THAI*, pp. 201-11), however, divides them in eight classes. Classes sometimes consist of several varieties.
113. K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, New Delhi, 1976, p. 26 ff.
114. Bajpai (*Ibid.*) is inclined to assign them to Kauśāmbī.
115. *CAI*, pl VI 14; *BMCAI*, p. 275; *THAI*, class 5, pp. 208-09; *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 46-48.
116. *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 46-48.
117. Jai Prakash Singh (*SP*, p. 6) observes that "It is quite possible that these rulers carved out small kingdoms after the fall of the Kushānas in the neighbourhood of the Yaudheya chiefship. Being neighbour of the Yaudheyas they struck coins on the pattern of the species of the tribe. Later, however, the Yaudheyas may have defeated them and annexed their territories. Thus the coins of these two kings should not be attributed to the Yaudheyas."
118. Bajpai, *op. cit.*
119. *Ibid.*
120. Mitehiner, *op.cit.*, Vol. 7, pp 623 and 637-41.
121. Sahni, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-32.
122. *JA*, 1915, pp 33, 64.
123. *Mbh.* (Cr. ed.) II. 29, 4-5a.
124. Recently a new variety showing a deer before a temple has come to light (*JNSI* XLV, pp 21-22.) An attempt has been made by Nisar Ahmed to attribute the coins with these latter legends to another tribe named Kumāras on the ground that the only definite and unquestionable provenances of these coins known to us are Dehradun and Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh (*Sp*, p. 155). He, however, forgets that such coins had been obtained by Rodgers (*Report*, List of Coin, pp 4-5). from Haryana also. Recently, similar coins have been found from Himachal Pradesh also (see for details *ND*, Vol II, part II, pp. 14-23).
125. *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 128 ff.
126. *BMCAI*, pp. 276-78. Of late, many sub-varieties have been brought to light.
127. Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 280-81. Cf. *CAI*, p. 76.
128. *Indian Antiquary* XXXV, p. 29. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, pp. 170 ff.) had rejected this view long back.
129. A. S. Altekar in *The Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age*, Banaras 1954, pp. 29-30. Dasgupta (*THAI*, p. 226) has rightly rejected this view.
130. *AMH*, p. 96.
131. *SP*, p. 96.
132. Handa, "Sectional Yaudheya Coins," *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, Indore (*JNS*), Vol. ii, and (1983), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-9. Cf. Dasgupta who observes that "*dvi* and *tri* are connected with the *gaṇa* denoting a system of administrative or tribal divisions within the Yaudheya country" (*THAI*, p. 228).
133. *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII (1950), pp. 169 ff.
134. *IV*, 1, 99 and 102.

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135. *Nirukta*, X. 8.
136. See *JNSI*, IV, p. 52.
137. *Mahābhāṣya* V, 4, 36.
138. *Mbh.* (Gitā Press ed.), Vana Parva 254, 19-21.
139. *PE*, Pl, XX. 44.
140. Smith, *Indian Museum Catalogue*, I, p. 206, No. 11, Pl. XXIII. 12. Dasgupta (*THAI*, p. 1, fn. 3), thinks that *IMC*, I, p. 205, No. 10 may also be attributed to the Agāca tribe. Mitchiner (*op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 649) has assigned *IMC*, I, p. 180, No. 8, Pl. XXI. 12 and No. 8, p. 205, Pl. XXIII. 10 (and also coin No. 10, p. 205 cited above) to the Agācas.
141. *BMCAI*, p. 279, No. 1, Pl. XLV. 9; pp. 282-83, Nos. 22-29, Pl. XLV. 21-24.
142. *Ibid.*, p. cl iii.
143. *Ibid.*, pp. cl vii-cl viii.
144. *Ibid.*
145. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS)*, X, pp. 277 ff.
146. *JNSI*, VI, pp. 49 ff.
147. *THAI*, pp. 8-9.
148. *JA*, 1915, pp. 34, 49, 65 and 99.
149. *Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 16 ff.
150. It has been equated with Pāli 'Aggalapura' or 'Aṅguttarāpa', a city which lay on the itinerary of Tche Mang before Rohitaka from Śākala (*Ibid.*).
151. H. L. Srivastava, *Excavations At Agroha (Punjab)*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 61, Delhi, 1952.
152. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 30-32.
153. *THAI*, pp. 1-16.
154. Mitchiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 648-49.
155. *JNS*, IV, pp. 7-8, Pl. 1. 2.
156. *AMH*, p. 98.
157. Most of these coins are heavily corroded and defy proper study and classification. These coins are now being studied by the author and efforts are being made for their chemical treatment.
158. *THAI*, pp. 5-7.
159. *BSOAS*, X, pp. 277 ff.
160. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII, p. 200.
161. D. C. Sircar, *Studies In Indian Coins*, p. 214.
162. *THAI*, p. 10.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
164. Devendra Handa, *Studies in Indian Coins and Seals*, Delhi, 1985. pp. 44-49.
165. Diodorus, XVII, 96; Curtius, IX. 4.
166. Mc Crindle, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
167. *THAI*, p. 11; Mitchiner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, pp. 618-19.
168. II. 4, 35.
169. IV, 1, 99.
170. IV. 1, 81.
171. *Gazetteer of the Hissar District* 1883-84, p. 38.
172. *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.) II. 23, 13; 48, 3; III. 141, 25 etc.
173. XIV. 31.

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174. *Bhāgavata* X, 50, 3; 52, 11; *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 16, 59, 48; 18, 45; *Mārkaṇḍeya* VII. 37; *Vāyu* XLV. 116; XLVII. 43 etc.
175. *Geography*, VII. 1, 42.
176. *CAI*, pp. 70-71.
177. *Mbh.* II. 52, 3-4.
178. *JA*, 1915, pp. 52 & 101.
179. *BMCAI*, pp. ci-ciii and 159-68.
180. *Ibid.*, Mitchiner (*op. cit.*, pp. 633-34) describes 'Intermediary Series' also.
181. *BMCAI*, pp. 159-62.
182. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68; Mitchiner, *loc. cit.*
183. *THAI*, pp. 103-4.
184. *PE*, pp. 824 and 201, pls. IV. 1, 3, 6; XIX. 16.
185. *PASB*, 1875, p. 85.
186. *Ibid.*, 1893, pp. 11-12.
187. Rodgers, *op. cit.* p. 3, No. 39.
188. *CASR*, XIV, p. 65.
189. Rodgers, *loc. cit.*, No. 41.
190. *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, p. 128.
191. *PASB*, 1875, p. 89.
192. Rodgers, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 37 and 42.
193. *Ibid.*, Nos. 38, 40, 44, 46, 48-50 and 52-53.
194. *Ibid.*, No. 43.
195. *Ibid.*, No. 45.
196. *Ibid.*, No. 48.
197. *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 13-19, Pl. V. 1-2.
198. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 37. Also see *JUPHS*, IV, Pt. 2, p. 10.
199. *CAI*, p. 71.
200. *THAI*, pp. 105-6.
201. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 1-5.
202. *Ibid.*, XLV, pp. 16-19.
203. Malab, situated about 5 km. south of Nuh, has a huge mound which has yielded Painted Grey Ware, early historic and medieval relics.
204. *THAI*, p. 11.
205. *ND*, VII, pp. 11-21.

THE SŪRYA IN ART AND PRACTICE IN ANCIENT PANJAB

S. N. Chopra

The Vedic Aryans were the earliest inhabitants of the Panjab associated with the Sun-worship. Prior to these times, it is not feasible to reconstruct the history of the solar cult in the region with exactitude because of the paucity of material. The earliest evidence of the sun is recorded on the Neo-lithic painted pottery discovered from Piklihal,¹ besides its representation on the rock paintings found from various rock shelters of Madhya Pradesh. On the basis of the evidence becoming available to us in the form of seals and other artifacts, it may, however, be noted that the sun was held as an object of adoration and veneration even before the advent of the Aryans. Its naturalistic representation on the varied Harappan artifacts in the form of orb or the svāstika lend this spatial object the divine character. This view is further strengthened by the representation of eagle or falcon on the Indus seals and pottery.² Lotus is yet another object connected with this worship as depicted on the pre-Harappan pottery of Kotdiji.³ as well as on the Harappan pottery of Mohenjodaro.⁴ A number of fire altars have been excavated from Kalibangan belonging to the time of the Harappans. It suggests that a cult of fire worship also existed in ancient Harappa, similar to that of the ancient Iranians, implying thereby closeness of the two going deep down to the common culture and tradition. On the other hand, the language spoken by the Indus people is claimed to have greater affinity towards the R̥gvedic Aryans. For this it may further be inferred that both the Indus people and the R̥gvedic Aryans may have been living in the same geographical territory and in the neighbourhood of each other, if they were not one and the same people, at one point of time before their separation took place. There may be a good deal of truth on the supposed Iranian ancestry of the Harappans and the similarity of their language with that of the R̥gveda. But the material culture that developed in India and Iran in some 1000 years between the flourishing cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and Mauryan period, not a short period by my reckoning, which has an intimate bearing on the suggested

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Harappan connections with ancient Iran and the Indo-Aryans, is surrounded by a shroud of mystery. These connections may not be acceptable without the conclusive relevant archaeological material associated with the Vedas and epic age and Avesta relating to the period is discovered to bridge this gap.

The Sun-worship in ancient Middle and Near East was more articulate, developed and popular than its counterpart in India. Apart from the naturalistic symbols, anthropomorphic representation of the Sun with eagle-head was reckoned in ancient Egypt.⁵ Falcon was venerated as sacred to the Sun-god and so was lotus.⁶ A similar picture emerges of the solar cult practised in Babylonia and Assyria.

Suffice it to say that the Indus cities were in regular trade with the afore-mentioned countries. As trade is the most important mode of carrier of ideas from one place to another and it precedes cultural relations, the representation of falcon or eagle and lotus on the Harappan pottery and single-horned animal and other naturalistic depiction on its seals may probably be the result of the cultural links between West Asian countries and India during the Harappan period. Or may be, the native solar traditions were enriched so as to accommodate the varied religious experiences of the heterogenous elements of the Harappan population. But in spite of the possible foreign influence, the Harappan solar cult did not yield positive results. It may well lead us to conclude that the general conditions for the promotion of the solar cult during the Harappan period were not conducive to attract the attention of the highly urbanised Indus people.

The Aryan speaking people were pantheistic as evidenced by the earliest vestiges of their culture. The primitive Indo-Europeans worshipped only nature gods such as sun, sky, wind etc., culminating in the mode of fire-cult and the undivided Indo-Iranians recognised as Soma cult in addition to the order fire cult, and the abstract deities besides the older nature gods.

The Rgveda is the earliest record of India wherein we find worship of various objects of nature including the Sun, conceived as a living entity. The Vedic hymns are replete with reference to Sūrya—his mythological panorama vis-a-vis the other deities who either emanated from him or were his manifestations. Sūrya is said to be the son of Dyaus and Āditi. Āditi is light personified in the Rgveda. Her eight sons, known

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as Ādityas or Āditeh Putrāḥ, namely Varuṇa, Mitra Āryaman, Bhaga, Dakṣa, Amśa, Surya and Mārtaṇḍa, are enumerated in the Ṛgveda. ⁷They are all gods of light. Dyaus, an Indo-European god identified with Greek god Zeus, is sky personified. Among the other important deities of the Ṛgveda namely, Uṣas, Aśvins, Savitr, Pūṣaṇa, Indra, Viṣṇu, Agni,⁸ etc. are also light personified and as such are his manifestations. Sūrya, therefore, emerged as the all-pervading figure dominating the Ṛgvedic religious, philosophic and spiritual scenario. Thus the Ṛgveda presents a very comprehensive picture of the solar cult of the Aryans. Significantly, the hymns of the Ṛgveda were first chanted and sung on the soil of the Panjab. It is in this context that the contributions of the people of the Panjab in the evolution of the Vedic solar cult can hardly be over-emphasized and in the profound influence that it had on the way of life in the region, they may be judged at their best.

The picture of Surya as emerges from the study of the Ṛgveda betrays his universal character and the other various deities as his manifestations. Metaphysically also 'Hiraṇyagarbha'⁹ the golden germ, apparently as an aspect of the sun referring to the theory of creation, confirm the absolute character of the sun. In this light to interpret the Ṛgvedic religion as polytheistic does not appear to be tenable. It may, however, be noted that the monotheism of Ṛgveda no doubt had come to be remodelled due to the exigencies of change in life-pattern in the course of time during which new elements leading to diversification of deities were added to the Ṛgvedic pantheon to suit the new environments. But nevertheless the inherent fundamental concept of monotheism remained an integral part of Vedism. Consummating in the philosophy of Vedānta, it re-affirmed itself in the absolute character of Brahman.

During the Vedic period a significant development took place in the mode of worship bringing in complete ritualisation of spiritualisation of the solar cult. The ritual involved performance of Yajña by erecting a Veda for the purpose of kindling fire in it to offer sacrifices to the absolute and his manifestations by invoking the deities to partake their share of sacrifice by reciting hymns in perfect pronunciation to have the desired effect from the deities of the environment. The emphasis being on rituals the worship as such became the mode known as Karma-mārga.

In the course of events that followed in the later Vedic period, ritualisation of the solar cult led to mechanical sacerdotalism. It

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emphasised more on the mode than on the spirit. In other words the performing of Yajña gained priority over the presiding deities. It led to the reversal of their roles in as much as the performing took the primary position while the deities were relegated to the secondary place. Emphasis on the performing led to the increase in the cost of a Yajña which gradually began to lose its populous ground and thus became selective in approach. The primary purpose of religion is to satisfy the religious and spiritual ego of its followers and when it fails to fulfil this basic urge, the decline of that religion or cult sets in. Since Karmamārga was intimately connected with the solar cult, the decline of Karmamārga had a corresponding effect on the popularity of the solar cult during the later Vedic age. Diversification in the field of theology led to a new movement of sectarian character, which absorbed the universal character of the solar cult. Each of the sectarian cult, whether orthodox or heterodox expressed this universal character in terms of absolute or ultimate reality—vis-a-vis their presiding object of worship as in the case of orthodox or veneration in regard to heterodox movements. Of these deities, Viṣṇu—primarily a solar deity, absorbed in himself much of the elements that had been attributed to Surya in the earlier days. The heterodox religions were intimately connected with lunar leanings but their solar inspiration cannot be denied altogether. During the course of their evolution the solar elements became more and more predominant. Though universal character of the solar worship lost its pre-eminent position of the early Vedic age, it rejuvenated itself to a great extent under the inspiration of Bhakti-mārga and emerged as Saura cult with sectarian character. Though its popularity was minimised, yet it was able to maintain its entity as a separate cult.

This dramatic rise and decline of the solar cult was enacted on the land of the Sapta-Sindhu, the geographical concept of ancient Panjab. It witnessed again a gradual but steady rise of a new exotic concept gaining popularity in the Saura cult from about the time of Alexander. The Saura cult underwent a tremendous change especially from the beginning of the Christian era due to the foreign influence which is so apparent on the figure of Surya. Varāhamihira's description of sun-icons is, however, in general agreement with such figures. He specifically mentions that the figure be attired in the dress of a 'Northerner' i.e. *udicyaveśa* which consists of a long heavy cloak covering practically the whole of the body and some of boots or

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leggings and *Avyanga* which is an indianised form of *Aiviyaonghana*, the sacred waistgirdle of the Persians, still prevalent among the Parsis of India, the followers of Zoroastrianism. This type of dress is Central Asian in outlook and was very much prevalent among the Scythians, Parthians and Kuṣāṇas. The headless subscribed stature of Mahārājādhirāja Devaputra Kaniska in the Mathura Museum,¹⁰ typifies this mode of dress. Some sun icons mostly from the Punjab and the rest of northern India also betray much evidences. These figures stand in great contrast to that of the Vedic ideal represented in the figures of Bodhgaya¹¹ and Bhaja.¹²

The figures of the sun god exhibiting characteristically foreign dress mark a significant change in the mode of sun worship in India. No doubt then that the sun worship which was gradually regaining importance during the age as inspired by the powerful foreign influence which may well be sought from Iran, where Mithraism, a solar cult, was prevalent, which, it seems, absorbed many elements from Zoroastrianism. Its priests known as Magi in Iran and Maga Brahmanas in India, must have entered India in the pre-Alexanderian period, possibly during the time of the Achaemenids who extended their domination over the north west of India upto the Panjab which formed the twentieth strapy of their empire. The provenance of the solar cult of the Magians in the kingdom of Porus is evidenced by the accounts of Plutarch who states that there was a temple of the Sun god on the Hydaspes, the present Chenab and another at Taxila, according to Philostratus¹³ and further supplemented by the absence of any reference to a temple in the Indian account of the Saura-cult according to R. G. Bhandarkar.¹⁴

Mithra, the Indo-Iranian divinity, which in Avestan means compact is the central figure of worship in Mithraism. He is preserved in the same form in the Boghazkoi inscription¹⁵ (c. 1500 B.C.) and the early poetry of Iran.¹⁶ The *Mihir Yasht*¹⁷ is the most important source of our knowledge of Mithra worship among the Iranians, whose opening lines clearly bring out the exalted position enjoyed by Mithra. It was during the ascendancy of Median suzerainty over the whole of Iran under Cyaxares that Mithraism spread into every corner of the Iranian dominions engulfing the whole of Iranian life.¹⁸ The Achaeminian period saw its decline for a brief period due to the rise of Zarathustra who regarded Mithra as a *Daeva* or demon,

whose worship was banished from the pure faith¹⁹ and Ahura Mazdah becomes the god par excellence. But at the close of the Yasht,²⁰ Mithra and Ahura [Mazdah] are jointly invoked which indicates rapprochement and conciliation between the two faiths. Mithraism gradually overtook Zoroastrianism by adopting and absorbing the tenets of Zarathustra into their theology.²¹ The Magis, the priestly class of Mithraism were an indigenous people of Media,²² lying on the southern side of Caspian Sea, with the famous metropolis at Ecbatana, forming the northern part of modern Iran. The kingdom of Media, during the time of Cyaxerxes, expanded into an empire embracing Media, Assyria and Persia. In their short tenure of supremacy, the Medes proved a great asset to the Iranian culture.²³ When we talk of the Magas or the Medas, or the Mithraic influence in the context of India, or for that matter, Panjab, it should be interpreted as absorbing certain traits of both Mithraism and Zoroastrianism. The new solar cult entered India from Sakadvipa identified with Media. Though Mithraism entered India during the Achaemenid period it could make its headway only during the Scytho-Kusana age. Of all the foreign hordes, the Kusanas played an important role in the development of Magian solar cult on the soil of India. The testimony of their coins bearing the solar cult has been discussed elsewhere.²⁴

One major aspect that markedly emerges from this is the importance of the Sun element in the religious traditions of Iranian Aryans or Medians of those who came under latter's influence before migrating to India, and that of Indo-Aryans and their forerunners covering a long chronological span. The new militant figure of Surya emerging in the wake of Mithraic influence boomeranged on the foreign borders on the soil of the Panjab. The new model became a symbol of liberation which infused a new lease of life into the demoralised psyche of the people and led them to victory against the intimidating control of these foreigners. They rose to the occasion once again in throwing off the yoke of servitude. The militant character is bequeathed to Revanta, the son of Sūrya born out of his union with his consort Samjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarma to carry on his work of liberation. Revanta is usually depicted as warrior riding on horseback holding a sword and bow, clad in armour and carrying arrows and a quiver.²⁵ Samba, son of Kṛṣṇa by Jambāvatī, was another member of the Saura cult whose image is fashioned with a mace in his hand and his consort holding a sword and shield in her

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hands.²⁶ The warrior aspect of Saura cult influenced the growth of Skanda-Kārttikeya of the Saiva family who played no less an important role in the struggle of the native chiefs of the Panjab against the onslaught of the Mlechhas. The warrior character of Skanda-Kārttikeya, as described in the Epic and the Purāṇic mythology and hailed as the lord of warfare,²⁷ gained importance in the early centuries of the Christian era as testified by his representation on the tribal coins and seals hailing from the Panjab, Bhita and Ayodhya.²⁸ The Yaudheyas were the great protagonists of the Kārttikeya sect who dedicated their state to the god and the Gana ruled on his behalf. The god on their coins is generally represented in the form of a warrior holding a spear in his right hand. This warrior character of the god is corroborated by the account of Varāhamihira.²⁹

Thus we find that Sūrya, the radiating spatial divinity, had important bearing on the vicissitudes of the people of Panjab. From the very inception, Sūrya which is also the symbol of mobility, had yielded power and respect among the laity in ancient Panjab. The personality of Sūrya underwent many dramatic changes, absorbing each shock. From the time immemorial Sūrya had been a great influence in moulding the personality of the Punjabi into a Karmayogi.

The above survey should not be interpreted to imply that the indigenous solar cult was completely supplanted by the foreign form. The foreign influence on the more articulate orthodox Saura cult prevalent in South India was conspicuous by its absence. But as it seems, it had a preponderating effect on the indigenous Saura worship in the Panjab and other parts of northern India as will be seen later.

The Mahābhārta³⁰ refers to the sun-worshippers in the camp of the Pāndus numbering one thousand and eight. The Rāmāyaṇa also takes notice of this significant development and describes the sun god as the creator, preserver and annihilator of all creatures.³¹ Humanisation of the sun's personality in the Epics led to the evolution of his family retaining most of the names of the Vedic lore.

The prevalence of the indigenous sect of the Sauras, during the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa age is evident from the various archaeological finds discovered from Panjab and the other regions of India. The distinctive feature of this sect is that the sun-god is represented sitting on a chariot

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drawn by four or seven horses along with Aruna as the charioteer and Usa and Pratyusa as attendants. The figures of Sūrya found from Bodhgaya, Anant Gumpā, Bhaja, Lala Bhagat etc.³² belonging to this period betray the indigenous influence. We have, however, a coin of Plato (2nd century B.C.) a sub-king possibly belonging to the time of Eucratides, depicting the figure of Helios (Greek Sun-god) riding on a four-horsed chariot, shows influence of the indigenous school on the Indo-Greek coins. An interesting specimen of small figure of Surya in black slate found in the one of the sites of Gandhara belonging to the Kusana period sheds more interesting light for the god is shown seated at ease on a chariot drawn by four horses and wearing boots.³³ Some western scholars try to co-relate the quadriga of the Greek sun-god Helios with the Indian representation, implying thereby that the four-horsed chariot of Sūrya on the Indian scene is inspired by Greek and Iranian traditions, which is, however, controverted by Indian scholars. All the same it has important bearing on the future shape of the solar cult under which an amalgam of the alien solar cult with Indian one was being gradually fused. The continuation of the indigenous traditions in this region during the Gupta period may be testified from a sculpture now preserved in the Kabul Museum. Such orthodox outposts thwarted the influence of foreign traditions to preserve an exclusive indigenous Vedic solar cult like that the South Indian solar cult.

Sectarian character of the sun cult which emerged in the Epics as a result of Bhakti Movement found full expression in the later Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas namely Bhaviṣya, Brahma, Skanda, Varāha, Garuḍa, Viṣṇudharmottara, Samba etc. Sūrya-Bhaktas³⁴ along with their priests Magas or Bhojakas or the Yajkas³⁵ are frequently mentioned in the sectarian Saura literature. This literature stirred up official recognition being bestowed on the Magian tradition,³⁶ which set the process of indianisation of the foreign traditions through legends and iconography besides construction of sun-temples. Another feature of the Saura sectarian literature is the impact of Tantric influence over it. Tantricism pervaded the religious atmosphere in the medieval period and Saura cult was no exception to it.

Sūrya images with Tantric influence have been recovered³⁷ but no image of the sun with female consort has come to light.³⁸ A fine example of Tantric influence may also be seen in the profusion of motifs at the Sun temple at Konarka in Orissa. Its whole structure is

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covered with motifs symbolising the fertility of the Sun-god, the presiding deity whose statues are beautifully carved and those representing dancers in various poses, musicians, beautiful nymphs and men and women in amorous play, paying homage to the deity.

During the age of the Vardhana dynasty of Thāneśvara was intimately connected with the Saura cult. Harṣa's father was an ardent devotee of the sun and he offered his daily prayer to the god kneeling eastwards upon the ground in a circle smeared with saffron paste.³⁹ The epigraphical records refer to Prabhākaravardhana and his father and grand-father Ādityavardhana and Rājyavardhana as Ādityabhakatas.⁴⁰ The leanings of Harṣa towards Sun worship are also evident from the account of Hiuan-Tsang.⁴¹

The white Hunas contributed a lot to the popularity of Sun worship in Panjab and other parts of India. Toramana built a sun temple in Multan. His preference for solar worship is shown by the fact that he named his son as Mihira-kula.⁴² Hiuan Tsang⁴³ describes the Sun temple of Mon-Lo-San-Pu-Lu (Multan) thus : "Among the temples of other religions was a significant one to the Sun-god; the image was of gold ornamented with precious substances; it had marvellous powers and its merits had extended far; there was a constant succession of females performing music, lights were kept burning all night, and incense and flowers were continually offered; the kings and grandees of all India gave precious substances as religious offerings and erected free rest-houses with food, drink, and medicine for the sick and needy. At this temple there were constantly 1000 pilgrims from various lands offering up prayers. All round the temple were tanks and flowers and woods making (it) a delightful resort." The popularity of the Sun-god of Multan is vouched for by Al Beruni also.⁴⁴ It is also stated in the Chach-nama (History of Sind) that on the Eastern side of Multan, there was a reservoir in the middle of which was a temple, which contained an idol made of redgold.⁴⁵ Tārānātha⁴⁶ relates how in earlier times a king called Śri Harṣa burnt alive near Multan 12,000 adherents of the Mleccha sect with their books and thereby greatly weakened the religion of Iranians and Sakas for a century. Whatever this legend may present to unravel it, for one purpose is no denying about Multan was regarded as a centre of Magian cult.

As we are informed, the Sauras were divided into six sub-sects during the time of Śaṅkara. According to Saura leader Divākara, a

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contemporary of Śaṅkara, Sauras used marks of red sandal paste, wore garlands of red flowers and repeated the eight-syllable mantra. It is further stated that of these the sixth sub-sect followed Tantric method and imprinted with a heated iron piece marks of the orb on the forehead, arms and breasts. Philosophically the Sauras regarded Sūrya as the Nimita-Karanam of this world, a theory similar to the one maintained by the Pasupatas in case of Śiva. The Nirmand copper plate inscription⁴⁷ which records the name of Tripurāntaka or Śiva under Mihireśvara seems to indicate that Magian form of solar worship having been combined with Śaiva cult.

A number of images of the Sun-god have been reported from different parts of the ancient Panjab housed in the state museums of Panjab, Haryana, Chandigarh and Himachal Pradesh. All these sculptures belong to the early medieval period. The chief characteristic feature of these images is that these are fashioned in the so called Udīya style (northern dress) as prescribed by Varāhamihira in his Magnum Opus book *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*.⁴⁸

There are very few sun-temples of note in India. Of the most important temples dedicated to the Sun-god, one obtains in this region, the Mārtaṇḍa temple in Kashmir built in the middle of the eighth century A.D. by Lalitāditya. The other temples are the Modhera temple in Gujarat, built in 1026 A.D., the Konark temple in Orissa which is believed to have been built in the middle of the 12th century, the temple at Osia in Rajasthan built in 850 A.D. etc.

Saura cult was a popular mode of worship in this part of India during the early medieval period. We have already seen that there was a magnificent temple to the Sun-god at Multan in West Panjab (now in Pakistan) which was held in great esteem and was popular among the devotees. Kashmir emerged as another important centre of Sun-worship about the eighth century A.D. culminating in the Sun-temple of Mārtaṇḍa, known as the 'Cyclops of the East' counted among the archaeological wonders of the world, second only to the Egyptian monuments in massiveness and strength and to the Greek temples in elegance and grace. Truly the materialised spirit of the transcendental vision as it has been appropriately described, its imposing structure still stands in majestic grandiosity even in the present state of its ruins, located five miles from Anantanaga in a comprehen-

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sive quadrangle measuring 220 feet by 142 feet with the central structure resembling a rectangle, 62 feet long and 35 feet wide. The cella is oblong of $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 14 feet. The height of the shrine is about 70 feet.⁴⁹ It is raised on a high plinth. Facing the enclosure are 84 pillars, each $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart from each other at the base with an imposing gateway. The shrine was dedicated to the life-giving orb which shed its radiance over the temple and illuminated the images. On the walls of this temple are elaborately carved and richly delineated figures of Viṣṇu, Gangā and Yamunā. The architecture and sculpture of this shrine has assimilated many influence. The long columns of fluted pillars with quasi-dorie capitals and moulded bases of attic motifs in its surface designing betray typically western influences. The encircling colonnade is fashioned in the Greek peristyle.⁵⁰

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FACTS ABOUT AURANGZEB'S COURTS AS REFLECTED IN THE JAIPUR NEWSLETTERS

S. P. Sangar

The contemporary foreign travellers of the 17th century make us believe that the Mughal Emperors used to hold the court of justice ('*adālat*) once a week. This, however, is not borne out by the *Akhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mu'alla'* or the Jaipur newsletters of Aurangzeb's time. They are supposed to be the most authentic, original and unpublished Persian documents of the last twenty-seven years of that Emperor's reign. It is not easy to challenge the veracity of these important documents which were daily recorded in the royal court by qualified writers expert in the Persian language. A careful perusal of these records leaves us in no doubt that the different courts held then were termed as '*Adālat*, *Diwān-i-khāṣ-o-'ām* and *Ghuslkhānah*. For some time the court was named as *Diwān-i-mazālim*.

We have a detailed account of these courts right from July 1681 to the last days of Aurangzeb's reign in 1707. In July 1681, he happened to be at Ajmer and for two weeks of August at Pushkar. No court or '*adālat* was held from July 20 to 30; *Diwān-i-khāṣ-o-'ām* was held for two and *Diwān-i-Ghuslkhānah* for all the eleven days. In August the '*Adālat* took place only for one day on 27th, *Ghuslkhānah* for 13 and both this and *Khāṣ-o-'ām* for five days. In September, *Diwān-i-Ghuslkhānah* met for 13 and '*Adālat* for 8 days. No *Khāṣ-o-'ām* was held. But in October it did meet though only for a day; '*adālat* for 16 and *Ghuslkhānah* for 12 days. In November, *Diwān-i-khāṣ-o-'ām* took place on six '*Adālat* on ten, and *Ghuslkhānah* on 19 days; both '*Adālat* and *Diwān* for two days and both *Diwān* and *Ghuslkhānah* for one day.

Another point worth noting is that for almost half the month of September, the whole of October and November, Aurangzeb was on march from Ajmer to Burhānpur. During this period he held

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the courts at temporary halting places, although with perfect regularity. When he was at Pushkar in August, he held the *Ghuslkhānah* court there also.

Dīwan-i-Ghuslkhānah : It is interesting to note that during these months (with the exception of August), the Friday holiday was not strictly observed on all occasions as far as the holding of one or another court was concerned. In July, the *Ghuslkhānah* was held on two Fridays, in September the '*Adālat*' took place on Friday (9th); in October, '*Adālat*' was held on all the four Fridays (7th, 14th, 21st and 28th); in November, on two Fridays (4th and 11th) there was the meeting of the *Ghuslkhānah* and on 18th of the *Dīwān*. On the last Friday of the month no court was held formally, although the Emperor performed the duty of the office and issued orders on important matters of state. On Fridays usually, Aurangzeb, while in a city, went to the *Jāmi' Masjid* for prayers. On October 4, no court was held because of the *Id-ul-fitr*.

Although Aurangzeb had ordered on November 24, 1681, that the *Ghuslkhānah* court would be held after the *Dīwān-i-khāṣo-'ām*, no regularity in this connection was ever observed.

From the entries of July 1685 in the *Akhabārāt* or newsletters it is clear that from 24th to 30th of the month, during the king's stay at Sholāpur, the *Ghuslkhānah* court was held every-day excepting on two days.

From the entries of the court proceedings for April and July to November 1688, during the king's stay at Bijāpur, we find that the three courts were held without any regularity or order. Out of 45 days, the *Dīwān* was held for 6 days, both '*Adālat*' and *Ghuslkhānah* for 20 and only the latter for 29 days.

There is no entry of the *Ghuslkhānah* court for 1692 and 1693 in the newsletters, nor from April 12, 1695, to March 1696. From November 1701 till the third week of March 1702, the daily courts held by the Emperor on the halting stages during his march, were termed as *Dīwān i-Mazālim*. After that *Mazālim* was dropped, meetings were held of '*Adālat*' or the *Dīwān*, but not of *Ghuslkhānah*. Aurangzeb was usually on march on the revolving throne and held the court in the villages where he halted. The last court of his

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reign was the *Dīwān-i-'Adālat* held on February 14, 1707. And he breathed his last on Friday, March 3, in Ahmadnagar.

An important fact worth observation is that the matters dealt at these courts were almost identical. Below are detailed the proceedings of the *Ghuslkhāna* court held on May 26, 1685, when the day had passed one *pahār* and 4 *gharis* :

The Emperor awarded one *bāzuband* (armlet) costing Rs. 7,000 to Prince Shāh, 'Ālam Bahādur.

A *Farmān* along with a reward of Rs. 7,000 was given to the *harkāra* to be taken to Prince Mohammed 'Āzam.

In connection with transportation, it was ordered that fodder should be procured wherever it was found surplus.

Ibrāhīm and others who arrived from Haidarābād were taken into service. (The ranks conferred on each one are mentioned.)

Bahādur Khān and Dāūd Khān etc. etc., troopers from the army of Khān Jahūn Bahādur, were posted with Ruh-ullah Khān as before.

A certain person named Qaisar brought forward a suit against an official Mohammad 'Ali who had put up his quarters on his land and garden. The Emperor ordered that officers who perpetrated oppression on *ryots* and the poor should be punished. Ihtimām Khān was ordered to assess the amount of damage caused to the complainant's agriculture, charge it to the concerned officer to be paid to Qaisar. The tents forcibly pitched in his land were also ordered to be removed.

Earlier, complaints had been received that one Mohsin Khān had been inviting to his house some Persians who created noise and made disturbance. The Emperor had ordered Ihtimām Khān to ask Mohsin Khān to stop this practice. Learning of its continuance, the Emperor ordered the diminution of 100 *zat* in the rank of Mohsin Khān.

One *kara* (Gold bracelet costing Rs. 10,000, and one set of dress was entrusted to Mohammad Sābar to be given to Aurangābādī.

Sayyid Abu Zamān, commandant of Sholāpur, was ordered to come to the *Ghuslkhāna* court.

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A letter was received from Sābar Khān, the commandant of Badr that the Haidarābādīs were collecting forces although he was keeping vigilance. The *harkāra* reported verbally that they had not accepted the offer made to them. A *farmān* was issued to Rāja Kishan Singh and Hamzah Khān to ravage their country.

Below are noted the proceedings of the *Dīwān-i-Ghuslkhānah* held on May 27, 1685 :

Mohammad Nāzim *Faujdār* was absolved from supplying provisions for the beasts of burden.

Rewards in cash and kind were conferred on certain officials; titles were granted to some and promotions to others. A few appointments were made. Applications of two officials were presented to the Emperor.

In the *Dīwān-i-Ghuslkhānah* held on May 29, 1685, rewards, robes of honour and promotions were conferred on some officers. A commandant's request for permission to come to the royal court to pay respects to the King was accepted. The news of the death of the daughter of Khānzād Khān was reported to the Emperor.

In the *Ghuslkhānah darbār* held on August 8, 1688, Rāja Kishan Singh was rewarded for having killed the rebel Rāja Rām Jāt. A report was received from Amīr Khān, the governor of Kābul against the oppressive deeds of Hasan Beg Kakkar *Faujdār*, of Fetehpur. His recommendation for the appointment of another person in his place was accepted.

In the *Dīwān-i-Ghuslkhānah* held on August 10, 1688, presents were received from Ruhullāh Khān, Governor of Haidarābād, and one appointment was ordered. A complaint was made against a Superintendent by an official. Orders were issued to the *Dīwān* of Bengāl to investigate into complaints against a *jāgīrdār*. Money was granted for new buildings in Bijāpur fortress. Orders were issued for the despatch of 100 *kahārs* to fetch guns.

In other meetings of the *Ghuslkhānah* also the usual proceedings were appointments and transfers, promotions and demotions of officers, *mansabs* and rewards to fresh converts to Islam, awards of *jāgīrs*, news about the activities of the rebels and orders for the suppression of their

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activities. No *Ghuslkhānah* sessions were held from April 12, 1695, to March 1696, from October 7 to December 1692, from January to December 1693, and from January to April 1694.

Diwān-I-Khās-O-'Ām

The matters taken up at the above court, according to the *Akhbārāt* or newsletters, used to be the following :

Presents received from various persons were shown to the Emperor. Approval was granted for the solemnization of marriages amongst the sons and daughters of officers. Leave was also granted to the concerned officers for this purpose. Presents were sent by the King on such auspicious occasions. Petitions were received from officers for their transfer or retirement. Reports were made about the mutual recriminations and fights among officers. Orders were to be issued for stopping the *Holi* and *Dīwālī* festivals among the Hindus, against their riding horses or using *pālkis* and indulgence in image worship.

Cases of forgery and official corruption were reported and punishments announced. Titles were conferred on royal princes and officers, *jizya* was fixed and *jāgirs* were awarded. News was received about the death of some *mansabdār* or about breaking of fire. Mace-bearers were ordered to be sent to fetch officers against whom some complaints had been received. Orders were issued for the celebration of the birth of the king's grandsons. Officers were ordered to go and bring *ghee* or mangoes for the king. Permission was granted for the purchase of elephants and parading those already purchased.

Presents of gold *muhrs* or pearls, horses and elephants and of the Holy *Qurā'n* were made by or to the Emperor. Occasionally news was brought about stopping of Muslim prayers in the mosques by Hindu *zamindārs*. Fruits like pomegranates or grapes, mangoes and pears, sent by the Superintendent of Gardens and others, were presented to the Emperor and distributed under his orders to various Princes and officers. Sanction was granted for the repair of gardens and forts. News was received by Aurangzeb and recorded in the proceedings of the court of the breaking of rains, birth of lambs to a single goat (and utterance of God's praise for this by him) and of the details of engagement with the enemy. Orders were issued for the chastisement of enemy forces.

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In the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ* of November 7, 1695, the following matters were taken up :

The news of the death of Mohammad *Bāqar* was reported to the Emperor. It was ordered that the *janāza* of the officer be brought next day to enable him to offer the *janāza* prayers. Condolences were offered by the Emperor to the sons of the deceased.

Permission was given to Khānzād Khān for apprehending Dhanna rebel. Promotion was granted to an officer and rewards to another. News of the death of another officer was announced to the King, and also about the enemy raids. Despatches were received from Haidarābād and orders were passed on them. Orders were given to Yāqūt, Superintendent of Gardens, for the repair of Sholāpur gardens and for the supply of fruits to the Bukhāra refugees.

'ADĀLAT

The time for holding the '*Adālat*' was usually one *pahar* and 3 or 4 *gharis*. The place of the *wazīr* or *dīwān* was in front of the silver pillar. The usual business performed was the appointment and transfer of officers, promotion and demotion of *mansabdārs*, receipt and award of presents and decisions on the petitions received in the court. News was received about the activities of the Marātha rebels and orders were given for their suppression. Robes and rewards were conferred on the new converts from Hinduism to Islam. Orders were given for the demolition of Hindu temples and stopping of image worship.

Detailed below are the proceedings of the '*Adālat*' held on April 13, 1695 :

Yāqūt reported that Khānjāhan had sent 400 *qalams* of grapes from Aurangābād. A petition of a woman was received to the effect that the *gumāshta* of Rāja Kishan Singh of Chānda had wrongfully arrested her son. The *gumāshta* was ordered to be sent to the court.

In the, '*Adālat*' of June 3, 1695, the dismissed *zomindār* of Bhopatgarh was ordered to come to the court.

In July, August and November, 1689, there are a number of entries when the Emperor held the *Ghuslkhānah* after the '*Adālat*'. The usual time was one *pahar* and one or two, six or seven *gharis*.

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Courts were not held on the last Thursdays of the month, on the *Ids* and usually on Fridays, although Aurangzeb did hold *Diwān* or '*Adālat*' on same Fridays as well. Whereas the Hindu festivals were banned, the Muslim festivals were celebrated at the court. The Superintendent of *Naqqārkhānah* (Bands) would inform the Emperor that people had viewed the new moon, and received the permission of informing others by ordering the *naubat* to be played upon. On the occasion of *Id-uz-zuha*, the Emperor would cancel the holding of the court, go to the *Idgāh* and sacrifice a camel and a goat with his own hands.

From June 1702 to the end of the year only the *Dīwān-i-'Adālat* was held with occasional sessions of the *Dīwān-i-khās*. It appears from a perusal of the newsletters that before going to attend the '*Adālat*', Aurangzeb used to ask for and change his clothes (*Akhbārāt*, April 13, 16, 1696).

The '*Adālat*' was not held once a week as suggested by the contemporary foreign travellers. There could be a daily session of this court or it could be held at irregular intervals. There were no fixed rules, at least, according to these newsletters, for the holding of the *Khaṣo-'ām*, '*Adālat Ghushkhānah*' or *Mazālim* courts. If there were any regulations about them, they were observed in their breach alone. All depended on the sweet will of the Mughal Emperor. Nor were there only criminal cases decided at these courts. Cases of theft and robbery were reported from the districts and sub-divisions and orders for the apprehension and punishment of the culprits issued. These criminal cases, however, came up along with so many other cases of absolutely different nature.

DIWĀN-I-MAZĀLIM

From November 1701 to March 1702, the courts held by Aurangzeb were termed as *Diwān-i-Mazālim*. During this period he was usually on march and covered a distance of a few miles every day on the revolving throne known as *Takht-i-rawān*. The court was held on the halting places. In December 1701, the *Mazālim* was held for 21 days, in January 1702 for 3, in February for 7 and in March for 11 days. After 23rd March there is no mention in the newsletters of this court, although there were frequent sessions of the '*Adālat*'. The recorded cases that came up before the *Mazālim* court were as mentioned below :

Orders were issued for the suppression of the Marātha enemies,

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about the execution of the Marātha prisoners of war and about the inquiry of the rates of grain from the Superintendent concerned. Appointments and promotions were ordered, robes of honour and rewards were conferred. At one session of this court, news was received of the death of 'Abdur Rahmān Bakshi and of the mourning of his death by his sons. The Emperor ordered that four big dishes of food be sent to his house. At the *Mazālīm* court mostly news was received of Mughal wars with the Marāthas.

On various occasions the sessions of the *Diwān* were suspended. Even then the business of state was transacted the details of which have been duly recorded in the *Akhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mu'alla'*. Appointments and dismissals were ordered, promotions and demotions took place, rewards and punishments were announced. News about the Marātha warfare was reported to the Emperor. The routine of work was regularly performed even when he was on march.

Proceedings of the last 'Adālat of Aurangzeb held on February 14, 1707 as recorded in the Akhbārāt :

The Emperor held the court ('*Adālat*) at one *pahar* and four *gharis* and left at noon.

Bakshi-ul-mulk Mirzā Sadr-ud-dīn Ahmad and Dayānat Khān *Diwān* attended the court after recovery from illness and presented gold *muhrs* to the Emperor.

Sābar Khān, Bakhshi *Shāgird-Peshān* was given promotion and robe of honour. Dilāwar Khān, the son-in-law of 'Ināyat Khān, was appointed Bakhshi *Shāgird-Peshān*.

Fateh-ullah Khān, son of Habibullah and son-in-law of Mastān Khān, was appointed Superintendent incharge of hunting on the transfer of Qālib 'Ali and promoted. Mohammād Hādi, Superintendent of Stables and Farrāsh-khānah, was appointed Superintendent of another department on the transfer of Mohammad Nafar. On the previous night, a *farmān* had been entrusted to Sarbrāh Khān Kotwāl to be delivered to Prince Mohammad Kām Baksh. The said Khān brought the answer from the Prince and presented the same to the Emperor. The petition of Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān Bahādur Feroz Jang Chin Qulich Khān was presented to the King. Prince Mohammad Kām Baksh had sent rewards to a number of *mansabdārs*. Every one

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among them presented himself before the Emperor and paid respects. (Names are mentioned along with the rewards).

Proceedings of the last *Diwān* : February 16, 1707 :

The petition of Prince Mohammad Kām Baksh was presented to the Emperor by *Hidāyat Keesh Khān Vekil*. Orders were issued about the governorship of Bijāpur and *Faujdarī* of Karnātak. It was reported from Aurangābād that Khushāl Khān was defeated and captured near Ausa. The petition of Prince 'Āzam Shāh was presented by his *Vakil*. Tāj, the son of Fateh Jang Khān, was granted sick leave for six months for treatment. Orders were passed on the petition of Chin Qulich Khān Bahādur. Jamdhar Khān was given a horse and cash. Sarbrāh Khān *Kotwāl* received a horse and a robe of honour. Mohammad Hādī was given a robe and an elephant. Khwājah Mas'ūd Khān was permitted to go to Aurangābād to present fruits to the Prince there. The petition of Prince Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh was presented by his *Vakil* Mohammad Ikhlās. The petition of 'Ināyat Khān commandant was presented to the King. Fakhruddīn Khān was permitted to come to the *Diwan-i-'Adālat*. Sayyid Mohammad, son of Nasrulla Khān, presented himself before the Emperor and received promotion. Qālib 'Ali, son of Rahmat 'Ali Khān, Superintendent *Sazāwalān*, and others were appointed to accompany the horse of Prince Mohammad Mu'azzam. Mohammad Ja'far was appointed to the rank of 100 zāt.

Towards the close of his reign, Aurangzeb adopted a novel method of dealing with petitions. He would call the Chief Secretary to his presence and ask him to present only five petitions in his retiring room. The entry of October 4, 1700, reads as follows :

When the day had passed one *pahar* and two *gharis*, the Emperor opened the window of his bed room, ordered Mun'im Khān in the royal presence and asked him to present petitions. Accordingly, five petitions were placed before him. After that the *Dīwān* and *'Adālat* were suspended.

The entry of July 27 reads :

"When the day had advanced one *pahar* and five *gharis*, the Emperor set aside the curtain of his retiring room and Chief Secretary *Siadat Khān* presented five files to him".

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There is an almost similar entry for 31st July.

The entry of 18th September reads :

“The said Khān presented to His Majesty five files of five persons. After that the Emperor put up again the curtain of the retiring room”.

There is an exactly similar entry for 19th September, 1704.

On September, due to the illness of Siādat Khān, files were ordered to be presented by Bāqar Khān, *Tan Bakhshi* of the *Ahādīs*. When he entered the room, the Emperor set aside the curtain and received the five petitions from the Khān.

September 23, 1704 :

The *Dīwān* was cancelled on that day. After the *Zuhār* prayers, the curtains of the retiring room were set aside and Siādat Khān put up the files. Hamīd-ud-dīn Khān Bahādur and the Chief Bakhshi, Mirzā Sadr-ud-dīn Mohammad Khān, came to the Emperor under orders. After 1½ *gharis* the curtains were drawn again.

September 30, 1704 :

When the day had advanced one *pahar* and 7 *gharis*, the Emperor set aside the curtains of the retiring room. Tahawwar Khān, Mir Tuzk, presented before him, as ordered earlier, Mansur Khān, Superintendent of Artillery of the Deccan.

The same entry as of July 27, is there for October 9, 1704. Three days later, Mohammad Amīn came to the retiring room after the curtains had been set aside, and presented his five-year old son to the Emperor.

January 8, 1706 :

On that day the *Dīwān* was cancelled. The window of the retiring room was opened and Hamīd-ud-dīn Khān Bahādur, Siādat Khān and Banda Khān, Mīr-i-Sāmān, came to the Emperor under orders. Siādat Khān presented five files to the Emperor.

On January 24, after the window of the retiring room had been opened, a number of high officers, including the Superintendent of the Court of the Grand *Dīwān*, came to the Emperor, under orders.

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Last entry is of December 1, 1706. His Majesty had ordered the cancellation of the *Diwān*. After the *Zuhar* prayer, the window of the retiring room was opened and the Chief Bakhshi, Mirzā Sadr-ud-dīn Mohammad Khān came to the royal presence and reported important matters of the state. The Emperor sat there for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *gharis* and then retired.

Every body was not allowed to attend the various courts held by Aurangzed. The entry was restricted only to the grandees who had earlier received his permission. He ordered on the night of July 1, 1703, that Jumdat-ul-mulk Amīr-ul-umarā and Chief Bakhshi Ruhullah Khān and Hamīd-ud-dīn Khān Bahādur, Mohammad Amīn Khān, Khānzad Khān, 'Abdur Rahim and some other officers, in all two dozen chief nobles, should come to the '*Adālat*' via *Diwān-i-khāṣ*. None else should be allowed entry. On July 10, Hamīdullah Khān Bahādur, *Dārogha-i-Diwān-i-khāṣ*, submitted that a number of nobles had come to the *Diwān-i-khāṣ* for audience. The Emperor ordered the submission of their names and after a careful scrutiny, he permitted not more than a dozen nobles to attend the court.

He issued orders on September 24, 1703, that whenever Jumdat-ul-mulk Amīrul Umarā came to the Chief *Diwān* on the '*Adālat*' day, Tahawwar Khān, Mir Tuzk, should go and arrange for twenty mounted mace-bearers.

Steps were always taken to control noise in the courts. On September 1, 1696, the Emperor told Tarbiat Khān, Mir Tuzk, that there being excessive noise in '*Adālat*', Bhāskar Rāo *harkāra* and two servants should be ordered to stop people from coming to the court. On September 25, 1703, an enclosure was ordered to be fixed to stop unauthorized entry in the court. A wooden enclosure was ordered to be prepared within the *Diwān-i-khāṣo-'ām* and was shown to the Emperor on September 12, 1703, for his formal approval.

SECTION-III

Views and Reviews

Devendra Handa

.. Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri Felicitation
Volume (Journal of the Academy of
Indian Numismatics & Sigillography,
Volume VI, Editor Dr. S. K. Bhatt,
Academy of Indian Numismatics &
Sigillography, Indore, 1988, pp. 12+
xxxii+177, pls IX. Price not mentioned.

Book Reviews

PROFESSOR AJAY MITRA SHASTRI FELICITATION VOLUME (Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography, Volume VI), Editor Dr. S. K. Bhatt, Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography, Indore, 1988, pp. 12+xxxii+177, Pls. IX. Price not mentioned.

Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri is a brilliant luminary in the firmament of Indological studies. The Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography has enhanced its own prestige by honouring him with the presentation of a Felicitation Volume.

A perusal of the contents of the volume reveals that most of the papers pertain to Numismatics which, among others, is Prof. Shastri's favourite field and forte. Dr. Bhatt has rightly described Numismatics and Epigraphy as the two legs on which the Itihāsa-purusha stands upon. His brief paper on 'History and Numismatics' defines Numismatics and brings out its importance for the study of history. John S. Deyall's 'A Guide to the Reading of Ancient Indian Coin Legends' is very helpful to the students of numismatics and serious coin-collectors. One may differ from Rajendra Kumar Sethi in his deductions drawn from the 'Ring And Ball Symbol of Ujjayini Coin (sic.)', yet all would agree that his paper provides an opportunity to others to delve deeper into the problem. One, however, wishes that his 'Numismatic study of the Satavahanas' should have been more critical and comprehensive. 'Indianisation of the Pāradas' has very beautifully been discussed and proved by B. N. Mukherjee. The footnotes and references appended to this paper bespeak of Prof. Mukherjee's erudition. Shobhana Gokhale has brought to light 'A Unique Copper Coin of the Sātavāhana King Hāla'. Capt. Narendra Singh, Lalman, Chandrashekhar Gupta, I. K. Sarma, D. L. Johri and S. K. Bhatt have, also brought to light newer coins and sigils while S. J. Mangalam,

S. V. Sohoni, P. L. Gupta, Shri Nath Singh and Dambarudhar Nath present a critical appraisal of known coins, sigils and currency systems. The present reviewer's two papers endeavour at improving upon the readings of some copper coins from Tehri-Garhwal and seals and sealings in the collection of the Gurukula Museum, Jhajjar (Rohtak). K. M. Shrimali has tried to analyse the 'Trends and Prospects' of early Indian coins and economic history. The significance of the 'Svastika Symbol' commonly found on coins, has been explained by A. L. Shrivastava and R. Terumalai has dealt with 'The Tenons Fisc of the Medieval Townships in South India'. 'Some observations on Iconographic Details of Deities on Panchāla Coins' by N. P. Joshi is a remarkable contribution which could only be presented by a scholar having deep and comprehensive knowledge of literature, art and iconography. Prof. K. D. Bajpai has also made some interesting observations regarding some deities on ancient Indian coins.

The two papers of Late R. L. Gupta dealing with 'Science and Culture—A New Approach to Human History' and 'Identification of Vedic Rivers—Sarasvati' seem to be out of place in this special number of the Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography and it is difficult to agree to his rather eccentric views and approach. Nevertheless, these papers betray the deep interest which some of the non-academicians take in Indology and augur well for Indological studies.

The summaries of papers presented by Indian scholars to the 10th International Numismatic Congress at London in September, 1986, appended at the end, have enhanced the utility of the volume. The plates, printing and get up are satisfactory. Dr. Bhatt and his colleagues deserve appreciation and congratulations for felicitating a distinguished son of the state of Madhya Pradesh and bringing out this volume in his honour.

Devendra Handa

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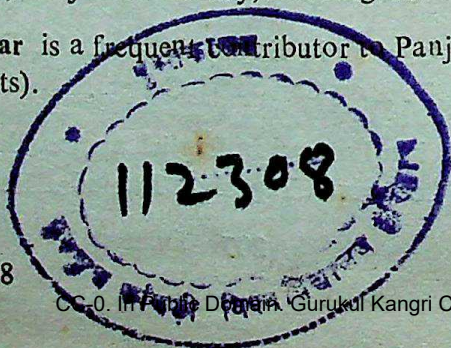
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